THE SURVEY

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The Gist of It

TUNE in on Geneva when this issue of Survey Graphic reaches you, through a net-work arranged by the National Broadcasting Company, and you will hear WILLIAM HARD. For he breaks in on his regular political broadcasting for them, weekly, from Washington to take on assignments like the London Arms Conference in '30, the League Assembly in '31, and now the reparations conference and the disarmament conference. He writes regularly for the Consolidated Press Association, and his roots go back to half a dozen editorial offices and Northwestern University Settlement of which he was head in 1901-2. Page 453.

THAT man with a blue shirt, a square chin and a six-day beard opposite you in the streetcar may be WHITING WILLIAMS on one of his explorations. Author, Republican, member of various learned societies, lecturer at Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration, adviser to large employers on personnel and publicity relations, he has a genius for getting at the point of view of the under-dog. More particularly, in its bearings on this article (page 459), Mr. Williams was executive secretary of the Cleveland Welfare Federation from 1912-17, which gave the initial impulse to the community-chest movement. We could commission Mr. Williams to make this appraisal the first ten days of the new year by gift of Jesse Isidor Straus of R. H. Macy and Company, chairman of the New York Temporary Emergency Relief Administration.

THE Department of Public Welfare of Cincinnati cares for the homeless unemployed in the Robinson Opera House. In December more than thirty thousand meals were served and an average of four hundred a night were lodged where opera used to be sung. HILDA WORTHINGTON SMITH, who writes of it in vivid verse on page 462, is director of the Affiliated Summer Schools for Women Workers in Industry.

THE hearings before a Senate Committee on federal relief for the unemployed have been front-page news for a fortnight. On page 463 PAUL U. KELLOGG, editor of Survey Graphic, bears witness to the need of it, followed by the gist of the testimony of five outstanding witnesses.

FOR more than a quarter century JULIUS ROSENWALD and GRAHAM TAYLOR have been fellow citizens of the city to which they went as young men and for whose better interests they have worked without pause. (Page 469).

IN his article (page 472) LEWIS L. LORWIN, of the staff of the Institute of Economics of the Brookings Institution at Washington, D. C., traces the history of economic planning in the Western World. It follows his Five-Year Plan for the World in the December Graphic and introduces his American Plan which will be published in the March issue.

THAT spectacular boy, "Two-Gun" Crowley, who awaits execution at Sing Sing, gives a marvelous text for the article (page 476) by IRA S. WILE, M.D., who for many years has been a student of juvenile behavior both in his private practice and as psycho-pediatrician at the clinic maintained by the Hebrew Orphan Asylum and the children's health class at Mt. Sinai Hospital in New York City.

SMALL-TOWN people have been the chief characters in ZONA GALE'S novels and stories. Here (page 479) she turns to the great ladies of a great city—Jane Addams and her group at Hull-House, where Miss Gale has been a frequent visitor through the years.

IN his opening message to the New York Legislature, Governor Roosevelt found a clue to the way out of our troubles in the fact that "there are too many people in the larger communities to maintain a decent living for all." He develops the theme and his theory of regionalism in the delightfully informal article (page 483) which is based on an address given at the dinner marking the completion of the Regional Plan of New York.

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STEEL

By Thomas H. Benton

Pouring molds, tapping a blast furnace, with Bessemer converter in the center background, are dramatic scenes in the manufacture of steel that Benton chose for this mural in his series of American pictures made last year for the new building of the New School for Social Research in New York

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Ingots and Doles

By WILLIAM HARD

I SING of the Monongahela and of the Borough of Braddock upon it; of coal, coke, limestone, iron-ore, steel; of record rushes of production and of record rushes of "relief."

I sing of the American way.

"These second-generation Slovak-Americans in the Edgar Thomson works don't put their money in their socks any more," said a priest. "No! They are investors. Instead of socks, stocks."

"And their women don't know how to bake," said a "relief" agent. "We give them white flour in their 'relief' rations. They have to learn what to do with it. Some of them invite us now to taste the result. They used to be in the delicatessen. Now they're in the kitchen."

I sing of a dizzy economic amusement-park roller-coaster of ups and downs.

"In ten years in the Edgar Thomson works we made eight hundred and seventy-eight new 'highs' in production." The speaker was Odd J. H. Hartsuff, superintendent of the works. "And in just about the same length of time we have spent twenty-four million dollars on new construction."

Up and up! And still going up!

The Edgar Thomson works in the Borough of Braddock in the County of Alleghany in the State of Pennsylvania is owned by the Carnegie Steel Company, which is owned by the United States Steel Corporation. The year 1930 was a very depressed year. In that year the United States Steel Corporation's production of ingots fell from (roughly) twenty-two million to (roughly) seventeen million tons. Precisely, its production of ingots fell twenty-three and a half per cent.

We must pay homage to the ingot. It stands on its flat-car, white-hot. Its contents have come from the blast furnace, the open hearth furnace, the Bessemer converter. It is a radiant truncated obelisk of steel, of arrived raw steel. On its flat-car it is on its way to the plant's mills which will grasp it with rollers and propel it backwards and forwards and squeeze it and knead it into blooms and billets and bars and slabs and rails and all other "rolled and finished steel products for sale."

We must reverence the ingot. It is a combination of all that came before. It is the source of all that comes after.

The United States Steel Corporation was not daunted by the 1930 decline of its ingot production to seventeen millions tons. Its *capacity* for ingot production at the beginning of the year 1930 was (roughly) twenty-five million tons. During the year it increased that capacity by new construction to (roughly) twenty-six million tons. It additionally planned still further to increase it, during 1931, to twenty-eight million tons.

Confidence! Courage! People will start buying. Building will be freshly "financed." "Credit" will be pumped into railroads, ships, skyscrapers, motor-car installment-purchase corporations. The incomes of 1935 will be put in pledge for the purchase-contracts of 1933. Debt will revive and mount. Prosperity will return and soar. Prepare for it!

I do it myself in my own small affairs. The Corporation does in it its large affairs. I sing of the American way.

I look at the personnel-sheet of the Corporation's Edgar Thomson works at Braddock. Romance invests Braddock. Here Carnegie contrived his first rail-mill. Here Mr. Schwab toiled in his start toward being the Corporation's first president, and here he married. Here his successor, Mr. Corey, was born and inducted into wage-earning and fortune-finding. Here wealth, origi-

Years ago when safety engineering was still to come, and no American state had as yet drafted a workmen's compensation act, Everybody's Magazine carried an article, Making Steel and Killing Men, which upset inertias and helped set things going. The Steel Corporation was itself to take the lead in safety engineering; and its accident benefit system was to antedate the compensation laws. William Hard was its author. Here, and in a succeeding article in Survey Graphic, he again cracks the molds of old habits of thought with respect to another hazard of modern industry.

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nating, evaporating, disappears into the income-tax returns of Manhattan Island and leaves behind it, in this river-gully between high confining hills, a cathedral of smoke-stacks and a catacomb of bleak, gaunt, huddled homes.

Here is shabbiness—and heroism. Here that Black Prince of all steel-makers, Captain "Bill" Jones, came to his death in a final combat with molten metal. Here his present legatee, Odd Hartsuff, superintendent, turns to the visitor with a face alight with delight of fight.

I could aspire to go even with Odd Hartsuff on any adventure anywhere. Let the quest be ingots, or lions, or Mount Everest, or what you will. He's a steel man, a man.

And now he has to be a dietician. Now he has to know about milk for babies in "relief" rations.

"Those rations of his are all starches," exclaim the eminent and learned visiting nurses. "He's going to give the babies malnutrition."

Not that he would wish to! Not that he would knowingly do so! Odd Hartsuff's face is pugnacity—and pity.

He hands me the personnel-sheet. Mr. Farrell, president of the United States Steel Corporation; Mr. Hughes, president of the Carnegie Steel Company; Mr. Burnett, vice-president of the Carnegie Steel Company—all are willing that he should. All are conscious of an incontrovertible fact.

The Corporation is doing more for the benefit of its employes than it ever did before. Its sense of duty toward them has not contracted. It has expanded. In its benefit policies there is growth, development, aspiration.

For an example: Trouble, intricate trouble, is necessary for "staggering" employment, for partitioning unemployment. Mr. Hartsuff takes it. I took at his personnel-sheet with amazement.

It states that his "normal force" is 5235. It states then that the number of employes working "full time" during the current week is 424. Four hundred and twenty-four! Eight per cent of the "normal force"!

But how many are working "part time"? The personnel-sheet answers: 3292. So the "part-time" workers, during the current week, are 63 per cent of the "normal force"!

But what—in this current week—is the "average daily force"? It is (roughly) 1200. Only 1200!

I proceed to a mathematical calculation. The chief clerk of the works verifies it. I add together the "full-time" workers and the "part-time" workers. I want to know how much work, on the average, each working worker is getting. I calculate and learn. He is getting, on the average, roughly, two days a week.

He is accordingly earning, on the average, and again roughly, ten to twelve dollars a week, if one may apply to Braddock the general statistics assembled by the Corporation on the topic of wages from all of its plants.

He is earning—that is—one third of a full week's pay. With the 10 per cent wage-rate cut, he is earning in fact *less than one third* of his *former* full week's pay.

I contrast: What proportion of the former *dividend return* did the Corporation's stockholders (common and preferred) get in 1931? *Three quarters.*

And what proportion of the former *interest return* did the Corporation's bondholders get in 1931? *Four quarters.* Paid in full.

How then shall we come to "equality of sacrifice" between employes and owners? How indeed?

For steel, for more steel, there must be money, more money. For enlarged construction, enlarged production, there must be enlarged funds, enlarged investments. "Stagger" the stockholders and the bondholders as you "stagger" the employes, and where will you find your new investors for the new prodigies of production in the new miraculous future? They will not come forward. But! They *must* come forward! The next "high" in the roller-coaster may show us the Promised Land!

O ingot, smoking with heat, you transmute the sweat of labor into incense for the nostrils of money; and in hope for the success of the invocation Mr. Hartsuff and Mr. Burnett and Mr. Hughes and Mr. Farrell and even Mr. Taylor, chairman of the Finance Committee, however mighty, must bow, must genuflect.

Photos by Rembrandt Studios, Pittsburgh

The company nurse visits a family whose clothes give evidence of better days—and this barefoot youngster dressed in gunny-sacks

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Yet labor, somehow, emerges into being itself a deity. Labor. Not organized labor. Trade unions are nothing in the Corporation's plants. Labor "through representatives of its own choosing" possesses in those plants no voice of any record-worthy volume. It is not labor as an attacking class that emerges. It is labor as an incipiently assimilated class. It is labor not as part of Karl Marx's proletariat but as part of the Corporation's "personnel."

On Mr. Hartsuff's personnel-sheet I come to the last entry. I glance back to the first entry: "Normal force," 5235. I revert to the last entry: "Not working," 1519.

"Not working for you at all?" I inquire.

"That's right," says Mr. Hartsuff. "Not working at all right now."

"Then why do you count them in? Why do you include them on the sheet of your personnel? Why do you continue to regard them as being in your 'normal force'?"

"Oh, they have checks," says Mr. Hartsuff.

"Checks?"

The head nurse intervenes. Would that Captain "Bill" Jones could have lived to see steel plants with nurses—lady nurses, lady visiting nurses! The head nurse explains: "They have little metal checks that show they are still employes."

"But they aren't employes. They're off the payroll."

"Yes they *are* employes They can get groceries."

"For what?"

"For nothing."

"From whom?"

"From the Company."

"Why?"

"If they haven't anything to eat! What are you going to do?"

Ah! That's not business. Why should business be burdened with the maintenance of people who are not working? Why should the cost of production be swollen with the groceries of people who are not contributing to production? Are we on our way to doles? Are we on our way to giving people something for nothing?

I candidly compliment the Corporation and ironically express shock, but Mr. Hartsuff and the head nurse are calm, perfectly calm, in the routine of revolution.

A generous basket of groceries from the company

"Lots of them are proud," says Mr. Hartsuff. "One of them yesterday came in crying because he had to ask for groceries. And another fellow's wife came in crying because he was going to commit suicide because he wouldn't ask."

"They don't rush to ask?"

"Rush? Some do. But hardly any. Mostly they hang back till they just have to give in."

I spared Mr. Hartsuff the sermon from the bottom of my barrel on dole demoralizations. I had an engagement with Major J. Clyde Miller, president of the directors of the poor of Allegheny County. He was in his office in Pittsburgh.

I gazed upon him with veneration. Any "director of the poor" is an invaluable historical memento. He erases the modernistic mendacity which calls the succoring of the destitute by taxes "un-English," "un-American." He revives for us the Poor Law of 1601. He represents the continuity, from that day to this in English and American communities, of the responsibleness of taxpayers for the upkeep of the "impotent poor" and even of "obstinate vagabonds."

"Have you many vagabonds?" I interrogated.

"We've been at it for years, Mr. Hard," said Major Miller. "Ninety-three per cent of the people who come to us for 'relief' would rather have work, hard work, if they could get it."

I was appalled by the nicety of Major Miller's statistical calculation—93 per cent. I was at home, though, in his general drift. It was the same as Mr.

A loan to employes from the company bank

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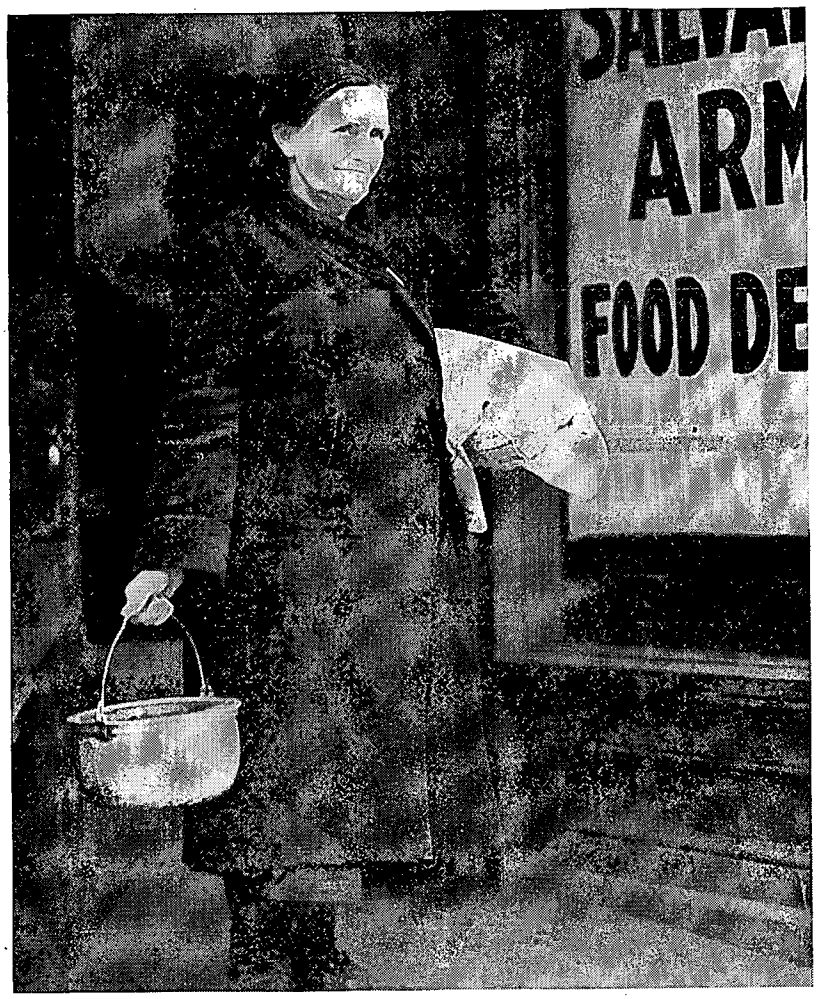

The Salvation Army (above) offers hot soup and bread. The waiting room of the Family Welfare Association (below) is always crowded

Hartsuff's. People were not grasping for doles. They were recoiling from them.

"What do you give?" I went on.

"Groceries, coal, school-shoes. This month, one hundred and five thousand dollars of them."

"Partly in Braddock?"

"Surely. It's part of the county."

I returned to Braddock.

"I will sing," I said to myself, "of all of Braddock's doles."

I remembered the Rev. John Keble, writer of unforgettable hymns. He composed a line: *"Heaven has in store a precious dole."*

Keble died many years before the birth of unemployment insurance. Also, since he was an Englishman, he cannot be supposed to have aimed his line at any policy, or proposed policy, of the American federal government. He must have been using the word "dole," it would seem, in its actual and politically uncorrupted meaning: act of grace, act of charity, gift.

I addressed myself to Braddock's borough clerk.

"How many families in this Braddock region do you think are getting gifts of things for 'relief'?"

With the help of M. Clyde Kelly, Congressman and Braddock newspaper publisher, the borough clerk computed, lengthily.

"Oh, from a quarter to a third of them."

"Don't they own homes? I am told that more than a thousand of the Edgar Thomson employes either own homes or are paying instalments, or have contracts for paying instalments, to own homes. The Corporation even finances its employes to own homes, I am told."

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"They do. It's fine. But how is anybody going to borrow any money now on his equity in his home? It can't be done. The banks won't do it."

"But Corporation stock. Plenty of them own Corporation stock. The Corporation finances them to own it."

"Yes. But how can they borrow anything on that, either? Try it. The banks just won't."

"There isn't any way," interjected Congressman Kelly, "of making thrift have its right reward as long as we first produce more steel than is orderly and then consequently produce less steel than is orderly. There can be no right reward for thrift as long as we seek first the sky and then the abyss. We've got to have regularization of production."

I temporarily dismissed Mr. Kelly's prophetic audacity and wandered through Braddock meditating upon thrift, upon extravagance.

Numerous motor-cars were resting in squalid backyards, hoisted on wooden stilts, like abandoned arks on Ararat, surviving—in immobilized grandeur—the departed deluge of prosperity. Extravagance!

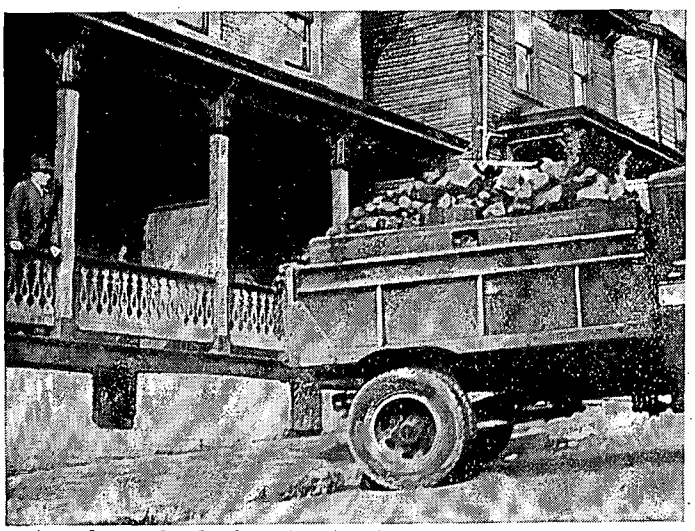
Women were crowding the entrance to the offices of the head nurse of the steel plant; and their aged stockings were of silk. Extravagance!

Why didn't these people resist motor-cars and silk stockings?

I fancied myself propounding that indignant question to a meeting of the Iron and Steel Institute. I fancied the steel companies of the United States, through the secretary of the Iron and Steel Institute, sending me a rebuke. The rebuke would be:

"At first we thought you correct. On general historical traditional principles it is well to denounce the extravagances of people of small or moderate incomes. Statistical research, however, for which our Institute is founded, points out to us now the danger of that course.

Cough medicine given by the druggist



A welcome load of coal from the Directors of the Poor

At the Braddock General Hospital

"In 1921 the production of ingots and castings by the steel companies of the United States was some twenty million tons. In 1925 it rose to some forty-five million tons. In 1929 it rose to more than fifty-six million tons.

"Was it for the steel companies to say to the promoters of skyscrapers: You are overbuilding?

"Was it for the steel companies to say to the manufacturers of motor-cars: You are overselling?

"Was it for us to say to any of our customers: You are pushing your goods beyond the line of thrift for the ultimate consumer?

"No. And is it for us to repel the efforts of the administration of our country to promote more credit in order to promote more borrowing in order to promote more buying in another prosperity peak?

"It would be unpatriotic. We think accordingly that you would be well advised not to press the point of extravagance too heavily at this time."

That rebuke would content me. I fancied myself expanding it. I did expand it to a destitute motor-car-owning steel-worker.

"Your extravagance in consumption," I said, "is the psychological analogue, within an identical social complex, of the Corporation's extravagance in production."

He did not dispute it. He replied, though:

"I heard you say extravagance. I own my home. I can't raise any money on the motor-car and I can't raise any money on the home. What's the difference?"

"Don't be discouraged," I said. "You did the whole duty of an American. You practiced thrift. You practiced extravagance. You saved. You bought. You did not put your money in a sock. You used it. You got into this depression in a high-spirited American way and I am sure you are going to get through it in the same way."

He said his wife was going to the prenatal clinic at the Braddock Health Station. I followed the clue.

I found the Braddock Health Station to be a private

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project maintained by the Public Health Nursing Association of Pittsburgh. I found many clinics of many sorts in it and six nurses engaged in visiting homes.

"What will be your charge to the wife of a workless worker for your prenatal clinic?"

"Nothing."

"And will you nurse her at the delivery?"

"We'll probably send her to the hospital."

I became interested in following doles from birth to death. I repaired to the Braddock General Hospital.

"Yes," said the hospital. "We do a lot of free work. To cover part of it we get money from the State of Pennsylvania. In the current two years we are getting about fifty thousand dollars from the state. We have a state nurse here, who has a baby clinic. We have also a state doctor. Then there is a county doctor in this region, too. He can be called in for poor patients. He is paid by the Allepheny County directors of the poor."

ONWARD from the prenatal dole and the delivery dole I pursued the dole baby.

I said to myself: "How about milk for the baby?"

I propounded that inquiry to the nurses at the Health Station. They said: "For babies up to two years of age, apply to the Milk and Ice Association. They do it."

"What about after two years old?"

"Two to six is the bad time. It's hard to solve. After six the children can sometimes get milk at the schools. And sometimes breakfasts."

"Who does that?"

"The teachers and their friends among the parents, principally."

"Milk. Breakfasts. Anything else?"

"Yes. Shoes. School-shoes. But they come from the directors of the poor."

"Where do I get any compendium of all this?"

"You might try the Family Welfare Association."

I arrived at the Braddock branch of the Family Welfare Association of Allegheny County. I perceived a charitarian technological book expounding minimum standards of "relief." I compiled out of it a "minimum standard" for a given family of ten persons of given ages. The book said—per week—sixteen dollars and thirty-six cents and nine mills.

I knew of such a family in Braddock. I knew that in fact for "relief" it was getting seven dollars and fifty cents—per week.

"How many families are you helping?" I inquired.

"About a thousand."

"How much are you spending?"

"About twenty-five hundred dollars last month."

"An average of, say, two fifty a month. I assume, then, that to many of them you do not give money help."

"To many of them we give the help of guidance in their relations with their landlords and other creditors."

I withdrew my mind from the Family Welfare Association and reflected upon the statistics of the "relief" furnished by the Edgar Thomson works. I had them for the fortnight just elapsed.

Employes given "relief": seven hundred and fifty-three.

Money value of "relief" given: five thousand five hundred and seventy-three dollars and twenty-five cents.

Average amount of "relief" given per "relieved" employe in fortnight: seven dollars and forty cents.

Average amount per "relieved" employe per week: three dollars and seventy cents.

Not so much. But better, no end better, than in the past. A new burden—and one that will grow—for the Corporation.

I resumed my enlightenment by the Family Welfare Association.

"Anybody starving to death?"

"Absolutely not."

"Anybody getting less nourishment than normal?"

"Lots."

I remembered a talk with a high specialist in visiting nursing in Pittsburgh. She said: "Nobody's starving. They're just too often getting too little to eat. They're just too often getting the wrong things to eat. The mothers are getting undernourished. The babies are getting born undernourished. They're getting born not only with the chance of rickets, but with the fact of rickets already upon them."

"And in the midst," I meditated, "of a star-shower of doles."

I again essayed progress in enlightenment. I said: "May I recite a lesson? I understand that the four big industrial companies on the banks of the Monongahela along here are all giving some sort of 'relief.' The American Steel and Wire Company. The Westinghouse Company. The McClintic-Marshall Company. The Carnegie Company. Correct? Then may I ask you a question. Among your Family Welfare Association families would there be employes of these companies?"

"Certainly; but if a family is a Carnegie Company family, we would refer it first to the Carnegie Company. They aim to look after their own."

"That's an improvement on formerly?"

"A big one."

"Then there wouldn't be any double 'relief'?"

"Not often. Of course, we might give shoes, if we thought that the directors of the poor should have given shoes and they didn't. And we might give coal, if we thought that the directors of the poor should have given coal and they didn't. And we might give money for rent if a company was giving groceries and not giving the rent. And we might give clothes. The directors of the poor and the companies don't go heavy on giving clothes."

I WALKED down the street toward the meal depot of the Salvation Army. On the street I perceived grocery-stores, drugstores, meat-shops. Many of them, I knew, were engaged in "relief" through not collecting their bills and through thereupon not being able to pay their taxes.

Outside the meal depot of the Salvation Army I collected my thoughts. I collected them into an image of a Braddock family treading the American way through the depression.

Groceries from the company. Rent from the Family Welfare Association. Milk for the baby from the Milk and Ice Association. Milk for the school-age children from the schools. Shoes for some of them from the Family Welfare Association. Shoes for others of them from the directors of the poor. The sick ones among them tended by a visiting nurse from the Braddock Health Center. Coal from the directors of the poor. Occasional meals for the oldest boy from the Salvation Army. Cough medicines by the corner pharmacy. Some clothes from the Family Welfare Association. Other clothes (*Continued on page* 509)

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"But You Can't Let People Starve"

The Mid-West Counts Its Relief Dollars

By WHITING WILLIAMS

"HUNGER! Help!"

"You can't let people starve!"

These two expressions ring in my ears from these past ten days and nights of New Year's effort to appraise the industrial Mid-West's present unemployment situation and the adequacy or inadequacy of its relief in 1932. Days and nights of eating the homeless man's meaty but palatable soup or stew in Chicago's and Cincinnati's municipal shelter-houses; of talking with army-coated, and more-bonus desireful, job-seekers in Detroit; of accompanying the county's deputy director of the poor to the bare shacks of destitute miners in the Panhandle coal towns southwest of Pittsburgh; of interviewing mayors, city managers, social workers, settlement heads and workers, chamber of commerce secretaries, community chest presidents, editors, professors of sociology, and state welfare committee members and field workers in these and such other places as Pittsburgh, South Bend, Gary, Cleveland and Columbus—not to mention the township trustees of 500- to 5000-man home-town districts in northcentral Ohio. And not to mention, finally, such national leaders as Ex-Secretary Newton D. Baker and Ex-Cabinet Member James R. Garfield.

From the harmony and dissonance of all these various voices emerge those two expressions: "Hunger! Help!"—"You can't let people starve!"

Together they tell a four-fold story.

First, that the character and stamina of our American citizen and our American society is today under more serious attack by the depression than this generation appears able as yet to understand or has even dreamed possible.

Second, that the cry for financial aid must somehow be made louder and more effective than it has yet become.

Third, that whatever happens, the local public is likely in one way or another to see that nobody starves — whether with funds local or non-local, private or public.

Fourth, that it behooves every thoughtful citizen to plan now to prevent the threatened starvation by methods which represent a minimum of later emergency hysteria and which cause a minimum of permanent harm to the citizen's individual self-reliance and sense of civic responsibility.

I. "Hunger!" is hardly too strong a word for what the mounting curve of need in most of the various visited communities spells, now that the depression is attacking so cruelly the stamina and self-respect of families of a type which no one ever before dreamed of seeing hit by destitution. Hardly too strong a word, either, for imploring help from a public whose memory contains no catastrophe of anything like similar dimensions.

Those dimensions appear to me all the more alarming because they now loom so threatening in spite of all those shock-absorbers which so surprised me during my earlier contacts with these same communities in '30 and '31. I refer to the almost universal practice of staggering or dividing up of what work exists; the gratifying measure of initiative in the stretching of family savings; the greatly increased importance and efficacy of the woman wage-earner; the tendency of many unattached workers to return to small town or farm; and finally, the closed saloon. All these have undoubtedly made the net amount of slaughtered individual and family morale and fiber notably smaller than would be imaginable without them. Nevertheless, the present catastrophe has been so much wider in its geographical and industrial wave-length and has cut so much more deeply into the affected moral area that, in spite of all these cushionings, its net impact appears to me immensely more destructive and threatening than the public seems to realize.

Almost universally, I learned these last ten days, that the social worker sees in his mounting curves of demand and his case-workers' daily reports the engulfing of citizens of a sort never before encountered except as givers. In spite of this, Mr. Average Contributor apparently continues to assume, as usual, that the situation, bad as it is, represents little except an increase in the number of old-style "charity cases" such as he has always considered habitually afflicted with the proverbial shiftlessness of the economically clumsy and unfit — persons inherently un-equipped to bear up under the slightest addition to their customary load of bread-bed-and-shoes responsibilities. Evidently this contributor has still only the haziest idea of the huge and tragic proportions of the disaster now assailing, throughout American industry, all those virtues of personal thrift and far-sighted-

We wanted keen eyes and a swift up-take of facts and their significance as to the situation in the Middlewest —representative cities, one-industry towns, coal districts. In the absence of any national survey of the unemployment relief situation, such a sampling process might prove a public service. So we turned to Whiting Williams of Cleveland—pioneer in the community-chest movement, counselor to railroad, mercantile and manufacturing corporations as to labor policy, investigator of social and industrial conditions, who leaves his white collar behind and gets in close. In most of the area we asked him to appraise, he had as his base-line his impressions in the summers of '30 and '31 when he explored them as a shaveless job-seeker. "Don't take bias from us or anyone else," we told him. "Just tell us what you find." Here it is, as he found it.

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ness on which the permanent health and strength of our body politic is supposed to depend.

Not only has the habitually industrious and careful holder of skilled jobs been forced by the severity and duration of present unemployment to become a demoralized loafer. Not only has the more ambitious of the unskilled casual workers been forced by the same difficulties down to the unreliabilities of the unattached floater. Not only has the ordinary floater, in turn, been pushed down to the character-destroying irresponsibilities of the hobo—with the habitual hobo down-graded into the criminal levels of the "yegg." All that is bad enough, especially on its present scale. All these wounds will require years enough of later prosperity for their healing.

WHAT is immensely worse is that the present catastrophe is teaching great numbers of careful, long-headed, hard-working, thrifty, highly skilled families that their years of planning, skill-getting and self-denial have in some overwhelming, un-understandable and utterly demoralizing manner gone for naught. Their skills get them no job. Their long-continued, hard-won payments hold them no home. If their careful savings brought them an unencumbered house, that house now perhaps brings them no rent. The nest-egg they so perseveringly and joyfully watched in the building and loan or savings bank is sucked, by no fault or inadequacy of theirs, down beyond their reach—perhaps forever.

The upper level of our working and saving population, this prize sector of all our whole line of national economic defense, must certainly be added to the type ordinarily considered potential "case-work fodder" if we are to understand how the national disaster is bringing—no, not yet the actual starvation which the hysterically-minded think it essential to proclaim but, in certain sections surely, an alarming measure of malnutrition along with the withdrawal of altogether too many thousands of pupils from their schools—to furnish another pair of social scars requiring many later years to heal.

All this appears a layman's fair statement of the general situation. Along with it, however, should go the word that such a generalization by no chance means that conditions were found equally bad throughout the districts visited. Worst, unquestionably, in those mine towns southwest of Pittsburgh; such serious matters as malnutrition or school-withdrawal make slight inroad, thanks be, on the children of, for instance, Elkhart and South Bend. To even lesser extent, of course, in the average small town of Ohio, with the exception of the hard-hit steel districts of the Mahoning Valley and the coal counties bordering most of the Ohio River.

The differing conditions of all these various areas indicate largely the gap between the single-industry coal or steel town and the ordinary general-industry community. Just as King Coal has long been moving out of western Pennsylvania, so Steel has more lately been "mergering" its way out of several nearby Mahoning towns, leaving its workers stranded behind. But while most of the coal-bearing Ohio Valley holds the hands of a critically sick if not dying industry, South Bend, for instance, enjoys at least the temporary lift of two plants just now working, each of them, more than seven thousand men full-time, all for rolling shiny new 1932 models onto automobile salesmen's glistening floors throughout the country.

Meanwhile, only a few miles away, steel-built and steel-working Gary worries along on the short-time pay-checks of an industry averaging less than 25 per cent. Meanwhile also, Pittsburgh works courageously to carry on against the acute malaise of steel complicated by the more chronic ailments of coal. Similarly gasoline Detroit shows immensely more dilapidated, yawning store-fronts marked "For rent" than does oil-gas-and-electric Cleveland—or such other general-work localities as Cincinnati and Columbus.

Besides this marked variation in the volume of the relief-load due to the different local industries, the several districts vary notably in the source and nature of their needy families. To a real extent, the jobless Mexicans of the Chicago or Calumet as also of the Pittsburgh steel areas, appear to have folded their tents and stolen away to the chug-chugging of motor-trucks headed "express to Laredo" or Nogales—and points still further south.

A disappointingly slight measure of any such folding is everywhere reported of the "Hill-Billies," well dug in since war-time over a surprisingly wide area fanning out to the north from Cincinnati. And any negotiations for shipping them to their shacks in the hinterlands of Kentucky or Tennessee are likely to be met by some local judge's written threat that anyone who brings them back will be lodged in jail! Meanwhile, in any Northern city, even the simplest and most "iron" of rations assigned them by any self-respecting case worker are likely to represent more of both calories and comfort than these newest residents ever dreamed of enjoying before!

Much the same is probably to be said for many of those homeless "gandy-dancers", or construction camp and seasonal workers I saw in the well-run, case-worker-manned shelter-houses of Chicago and Cincinnati. For these itinerants and for all 'boes, as well as for the multitudinous Negroes boom-brought up from the South, the depression is entirely too widespread—the entire job situation is entirely too "frozen"—to favor any early effort to seek the proverbial greenness of distant fields back home or elsewhere. Northern industry, Southern education, national race-prejudice—which is most to blame for such a relief problem as that of the gateway city of Cincinnati where a 10 per cent colored population possesses a relief-case ratio of 45 per cent? And in most of our cities, how many years, under present or future relief conditions, before the boom-imported worker moves back home?

MOST complicated of all is the character and viewpoint of the needy person in those Pennsylvania coal towns—thanks to embers which still smoulder angrily after last summer's flaming battles between conservative United Mine Worker and Communist-led National Miner.

That the next house or corner might furnish a committee or a delegate of these last was a possibility throughout the day I spent there with a case worker for the director of the poor of Washington County. Destitution there certainly was—I was glad to add my nod of approval as the sight of some child's shoes or the story of some brave but weary mother brought about the signing of an order on the local merchant—by law the order must not be drawn upon a "chain." But the severest cases represented other factors than hunger or cold.

"Give that leader of the Radicals a nickel?" so a local citizen would answer when asked about a certain jobless, foodless father of five. "Not a bit of work has he don

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in years—except when he comes back every so often to agitate or to take an axe and lay low some boarder his wife has taken in to keep herself alive." Or—

"For why you geev dat loafer-trouble-maker sack flour for heem go sell and catch-em moonshine for get devil-droonk?"

The job of relief worker, city officer or civic leader is hardly simplified when such misery and breakdown takes the form of the local Council of Unemployed's formal demand to the County Commissioners for:

1. Immediate winter relief for unemployed and blacklisted miners of $150 for married and $50 for single men—with free food, clothing and hot lunches for their school children, plus free milk delivered at the homes of all children.
2. Ten dollars weekly for married men, plus $3 for each dependent—and $8 for single men.
3. Two dollars weekly for men who eat in soup kitchens. (Both unions have them in small but partly paved Avella.)
4. Free gas, light and fuel; no evictions of unemployed and blacklisted miners; immediate turning over to shelterless men of all unoccupied houses.
5. Unemployment insurance from the government at coal operators' expense.
6. No wage cut; no speed-up system; seven-hour week at full day's pay.
7. No discrimination against Negro, foreign-born, single men or members of the National Miners' Union in the distribution of relief.

Slight satisfaction can be gained from the fact that such a warlike and altogether demoralized situation has little to do with *"the"* depression. Rather is it the symptom of *"a"* depression—the continued, years-long sinking of an industrial invalid now too weak to pay men the price of bread and butter even when they work! (Because so-called "dead-work" draws no pay, men sometimes spend the week's two operating days in removing the coal's obstructing seam of slate-without earning a penny's credit, to say nothing of any cash residue in the pay envelope. Happily, however, considerably better conditions exist in nearby settlements where better coal and better management combine to favor better wages and less bitterness and belligerency.)

Taken as a whole, it must be said that careful observation in January as in August discloses slight organization by the Mid-West Reds. "Surprisingly patient" is the testimony given all along the line by those in closest contact with the most distressed sectors of the public.

In general too, the problem appears to be getting such organized handling as has reduced to a gratifying minimum the number of unorganized and unrelated breadlines and soup kitchens, as also of individual panhandlers.

But widely varying in type, extent and cause as are these different local loads of current human need, they nevertheless combine to support, I submit, my general conviction that the industrial Mid-West situation disclosed by young '32 demands a louder shout of hurt and help than our generation has ever before had to make or has to date been made to hear.

II. What then about the nature and dimensions of the help discoverable at hand for the allaying of this unparalleled hurt?

If a covering statement has to be made it is that most of the social workers and practically all of the others interviewed *believe* that the full volume of needed local or near-local help will somehow be found near or fairly near at hand as soon as its need is fully disclosed.

When it comes to that general belief's supporting actualities, little or big, my recent contacts incline me to agree with Elwood Street's observation that, by and large, the ability of different localities to furnish at once the needed financing depends not so much upon the volume of either local need or local wealth as upon the local community's social conscience, organization and leadership.

In this last a gratifyingly common denominator practically everywhere encountered is the general willingness of local industry to do more for its regular workers than in any similar depression. True, in one city, I was told that an employer in handing out the news of a further wage-cut, had added a note: "If you can't live on this rate, you may apply to Number 44 Such-and-Such Street for family relief."

On the contrary, however, even in those destitute and desperate coal towns, extreme leniency is widely reported in the matter of rent—and this generally includes gas, water and electricity. Their fuel, of course, is almost as free as air—though it is hardly edifying to see the neighbors filling their buckets from the local "gob" or refuse pyramid which always marks the local coal-shaft, or to learn that this or that pile of refuse coal now levelled to the ground enjoyed a pre-depression height of an ordinary house. (At that, it is a better sight than to see—as I did near Cherry Valley where I worked in 1919—neighbors who live rent-free in the houses of abandoned coal settlements using their dreary, workless hours converting other deserted houses into firewood!)

In general, the business man appears everywhere to take more interest than ever before in lessening both as employer and as citizen the general suffering. The measure of his cooperation with the local political or other heads and the resultant community effectiveness and outlook depends of course upon a lot of local factors.

South Bend, for instance, presents a united and hopeful front in the shape of active team-work between city and county government, Chest and the Committee of 100 Business Men. Due to internal difficulties, the Chest fell $25,000 short of its $185,000 goal. County outdoor relief's $365,000 budget of '31, the Committee's present levy of $2 per local employe (these total over 30,000), a shelter for several hundred homeless men who work a few hours, a list of over fifteen hundred families—all these are "going concerns," though going in a manner calculated to make necessary more county bonds before April. Nevertheless, in spite of several closed banks, a city government lately squabbling over bootleg spoils, and tax-collections off 13 per cent, the general feeling is that "We're luckier than most—and we'll stand together to see that nobody starves!"

Gary, an hour away, is very different. Partly because its biggest steel plant with capacity for one hundred thousand tons "turned out only eleven thousand last week." Partly because its South Side has large numbers of boom-imported American laborers unable to hope for work elsewhere. Partly also because the number of civic leaders has undoubtedly been lessened by absentee management. Even in prosperous days its branch-plants' huge furnaces blaze and its great, grumbling rolls turn with only a handful of those sub-executives who, in the usual plant and city of such size, would be filling the local Chamber, Rotary, Church or what-not, and heading every type of civic enterprise.

So I found Gary decidedly uncertain whether its $400,000 of county warrants already issued would be made negotiable

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by the urgently needed help of a certain New York bank. (These warrants buy groceries and if you're kind-hearted you may accept them for rent, but you'll have to deposit them in your safety-box, not in your bank account, for the banks already have too many such frozen assets.) Uncertain, too, the city is whether this year's needed $400,000 will be made available for the county poor relief in addition to the private fund of $65,000 now raised. Uncertain, further, whether any type of help may be expected from a special legislative session for which the governor has as yet issued no call.

Needless to say, so bad a situation is made no better by the closing, since my visit, of the biggest of the three remaining of its earlier thirteen banks—or by the fact that most of the county's other banks carry on mainly through the active cooperation of the national business corporations owning local plants.

Such cities as Cincinnati or Cleveland in comparison with, say, Chicago, present much the same contrast. The "scrip" paid Chicago teachers since last May is accepted for your own gas bill but not for your neighbor's—and not at all for your insurance instalment. As virtual bankrupts, "Chi" and Cook County must now pay scores of thousands of dollars daily for nothing but interest on recent loans. Besides the large relief expenditures of County Public Welfare, United and Catholic Charities and Jewish Federation, an efficient fall campaign produced an additional ten and one-half millions for the Cook County Joint Emergency Relief Fund. But the relief load already totals one hundred thousand families, plus a nightly total of around nine thousand sheltered men—already one thousand more, this last, than the peak load of last February. And as elsewhere both groups are mounting! So about fourteen millions will be needed—following the exhaustion of all present funds as expected in February. Crisis impends if the legislature, already in extraordinary session for more than eight weeks, refuses to make possible—with credit required to the tune of more than a third of a billion!—the carrying on not only of this work but also of the schools and every other department of the city's entire governmental life.

No wonder that so desperate a situation appears to make unfriendly action entirely unthinkable. Or that every device of discussion and pressure is being utilized to avoid catastrophe—including the Committee of Workers' recent plan of holding hearings in various parts of the city for securing details of the depression's impact upon not only the worker but also grocer, landlord, teacher, doctor.

Perhaps it is a tribute to human frailty, nevertheless the fact remains that Chicago carries on, so far as I could learn from its leaders, confident that the legislature simply can't refuse to end the present civic breakdown or to flag the social chaos now scheduled otherwise for early March.

In Cleveland and Cincinnati as also in Columbus, a longer tested teamwork 'twixt government and social agency gives considerably larger assurance that their own needed total of two additional millions out of the state's estimated total requirements of some fifteen millions, will be made available by a special legislative session (*Continued on page* 501)

CIVIC OPERA—SEASON OF 1931-32

By HILDA WORTHINGTON SMITH

NOT with the sweet notes of violins
The overture to the piece begins,
But with a shuffle—a shuffle of feet
Crowding the aisles from the muddy street,
The Opera House is stripped and bare,
No carpet, now on the marble stair;
Where a great dame sat and toyed with her fan,
Waits a shabby, hungry, homeless man.

Hundreds of men, hundreds of men,
Crowding the Opera House again;
Standing in line by the stage-door stair,
Sunken eyes and an anxious air.
Black men, white men, bowed or straight,
Dirty tickets in hand, they wait.
Opera tickets, up to date,
Purple, yellow, blue and red.
Woodyard tickets to change for bread—
(There's a hatchet—go and chop,
Three hours' work—five meals or a flop)
Beggars' tickets to change for stew.
(Here's a ticket, Be off with you!)
Busy folk must not be annoyed.
(Give him a ticket, he's unemployed!)

Up in the gallery overhead
Great bins hold the loaves of bread,
Bags of potatoes, bags of wheat;
Hung from the walls are sides of meat;
Down in the greenroom behind the scenes
Cans of tomatoes, cans of beans.
The property men, with kettles of stew
Are waiting, ladles in hand, for the cue.

The town-clock strikes. The music begins.
Sweeter than strains of old violins,
To every hungry man who waits;
The click of cups and the clack of plates,
Hot smell of vegetables in the stew,
The steam of coffee in fragrant brew.
The scrape of chairs, as the men push through
With a plate and a cup and a hunk of bread—
"Dinner is served." The Hungry are fed.

What follows the overture? Who may know?
The curtain rises—A rotten show!
The stage is set with cumbersome things.
There's a rumble of voices out in the wings.
(A hunk of bread, and a plate of stew)
The actors, bewildered, have missed the cue.
The lights are dim and the lines half-heard—
Where is the prompter? What's the word?

The Opera House is packed to the doors,
A shuffle of feet and a creak of floors—
Nineteen hundred and thirty-one
The Civic Opera has begun.

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Relief Needs: Relief Resources

By PAUL U. KELLOGG

WE entered 1932 without any adequate appraisal by the federal government, or by any national private body, of what unemployment relief needs are throughout the country, or of what relief resources are available. That is the first step provided by bills introduced at Washington by two western senators—Costigan of Colorado, and LaFollette of Wisconsin, on which hearings were begun by the Senate Manufactures' Committee during the holidays, and which before this is printed will likely come before Congress in a combined draft. Such a survey should have been undertaken last summer in anticipation of this third winter of the depression. It should have been undertaken a year ago; two years ago. We should now have a clearing-house for dependable information—current and consecutive, because conditions change from month to month—as a guide to both public and private action.

The position of the President's Organization on Unemployment Relief and its gauge of the situation were set forth in a statement made to the committee by Walter S. Gifford, its director (published on page 466).

Earlier in the hearing, responsible social workers in their individual capacities had laid their cards on the table face up. They included executives of leading national organizations: the American Association of Social Workers, the Family Welfare Association of America, the American Association of Public Welfare Officials, and the American Association of Community Chests (see pages 465-7). There were executives of the large urban organizations: William Hodson, executive director of the Welfare Council, New York; J. Prentice Murphy, executive secretary of the Children's Bureau, Philadelphia; Karl de Schweinitz, executive secretary of the Community Council, Philadelphia; Jacob Billikopf, director, Federation of Jewish Charities, Philadelphia; Samuel A. Goldsmith, executive director of Jewish Charities, Chicago; Edward L. Ryerson, Jr., president of the Council of Social Agencies, Chicago; Raymond Clapp, director of the Welfare Federation, Cleveland; and others. They showed how relief standards had shrunk below tolerable levels; how municipalities are hard pressed and how the fabric of voluntary social work is threatened; how the relief budgets embedded in the sums raised by the community campaigns last fall will not of themselves last the winter out. These campaigns reached only cities of over twenty-five thousand—and not all of these; and were not paralleled with equally effective drives from Washington to elicit and strengthen public appropriations by cities, counties, states.

This is the second step provided in the Costigan-LaFollette bills, which would not only appropriate from 250 to 350 million dollars for relief, but would create a structure of federal-state cooperation to promote and reinforce local action. They would set up a national commission, with the Children's Bureau as its executive arm, functioning through the states, strengthening their administrative machinery at the point of this new and emergent stress, and setting standards of relief and personnel. The fund should cover both work-relief and home-relief in terms of money and commodities, and should be guarded by provisions requiring the states themselves to demonstrate that they are giving their limit to match the federal outlay. But starting in belatedly as we are, the federal agency should have flexibility to act regardless of state lines in any desperate situation. There we can take a leaf out of the wartime experience of the Red Cross. It sent a relief commission to Europe; commissions to France, Italy, Belgium—but they were not just fact-finding commissions. They were empowered to function directly without delaying an hour once they confronted urgent and unmet needs.

THE same day that the hearings were begun on these bills, the Treasury Department announced refunds on federal income-tax payments totalling nearly $70,000,000. This fair-sized gnat was swallowed without trouble in quarters which choke at the camel of appropriating four or five times that sum to alleviate countrywide distress. They regard it as the nose of the "dole."

Relief under any name is largely a palliative; my own endeavors have been to get a hearing for constructive measures now that public interest is aroused to unemployment as a great fissure in our economic life; but the relief situation is imperative and calls on every one of us to try to think through how it is to be mastered before it is too late.

To my mind the dole is a catchword employed to confuse the public. The "great American dole," as I see it, is such currently unearned income as was paid in 1931, as had been paid in 1930, to American investors not out of the profits of American industry in those years but out of accumulated surpluses. I am for *that* dole. It was long-headed financial and managerial policy to set aside such reserves in prosperous years to help sustain dividends and interest payments into the period of depression; but it was a lopsided policy to limit that forehandedness to stockholders and bondholders, and to turn wage-earners off without anything to sustain their purchasing and providing power comparable to the European unemployment insurances. I am against *that* disparity; and against sticking to it, unimaginatively, far into the third winter of the depression.

Recently I asked a settlement worker, who had investigated unemployment conditions from 1928 on, how things stood among her neighbors in one of our eastern manufacturing centers. The answer was that the situation was much more desperate than it was a year ago, or two years ago. Go down the street and every household there was up against it because of unemployment. They had used up their savings and reserves. In one house, the man was working on staggered work or part-time, and they were not making ends meet. In the second, the man was working, but they had taken in relatives out of work and there was not enough to go round. In the third, the breadwinner was unemployed altogether and the family living on charity. And so it went; home after home on the ragged edge

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of want. In that city, we are told, municipal funds will be exhausted this month: the chest relief funds are not enough to fill up the gap for any length of time, and the state has constitutional difficulties in arranging for public help.

I would put industry's responsibility toward the relief of unemployment first. It is within industry's power to control things. And only when we shall have made that responsibility fixed and inescapable—as Wisconsin seeks to begin to make it in her pioneer unemployment compensation legislation passed at the special session this winter—will we have taken the first step in a long-range solution of the problem. But we are in the midst of an emergency, now in its third and cumulative winter, and when industry has failed to take time by the forelock and where private charitable help falls short, the general public cannot dodge its responsibility to act through government.

It is a sound principle for the public in exercising its responsibility to begin with local responsibility. First the community, then the county, then the state, then the nation. But we cannot dodge responsibility at any point, first or last. We need resourceful national leadership and action to stiffen and organize public responsibility through government all down that line. The President's message was directed toward putting national backing behind the credit structure so as to help banks, railroads, farm organizations and business corporations to dig in their toes, but not toward reinforcing the footholds of unemployed wage-earners.

WHEN you scratch outcry against "the dole," you find that it merely echoes propaganda put out in high places, reflects some childhood teaching, is a defense for the wealthy; or it is a fear lest we undermine local responsibility, or set up a pork barrel that will be worse than any we have known in pensions or river-and-harbor appropriations. The first three objections are a mixture of dope, emotion and class interest. The last two are serious and are subject to rational discussion, but they ignore the advances made in the technique of relief work and in federal and state aid.

The former welfare commissioner of Virginia testified that in that state they had for years carried on a campaign against the "dole"—meaning by that the rigid parcelings out of inadequate poor relief; for which they had substituted adequate public help based on case work under the new county welfare system.

In New York State there was a disposition at first to regard the twenty million relief fund, to be drawn from the state income tax, as easy money to be had by local political units for the asking. It is turning out the other way. It is proving a force which is melting township, city and county appropriations which were frozen before. To get the state funds, they must do their part: they must demonstrate needs and resources. The emergency system will bring to the rescue of the unemployed of New York State three or four times the money provided in the state act itself. More than that, it is lifting the standard of relief to a level which our civilization can stand for. (A few beans and a bucket of coal now and then do not qualify under the New York act.) It has uncovered areas where conditions were neglected and desperate. It has provoked constructive action by industries and local officials. It has called for an entirely new caliber of investigation and social service in dealing with the cases. With all its limitations as an emergency set-up starting from scratch, it is proving a modern social installation to meet a crisis.

This page could be given up to a recital of abuses in the past in the administration of public outdoor relief, to forebodings as to how federal aid might be mishandled in this emergency. But to say that because there is danger in such aid we should never use it, is like saying that because there are explosions in gasoline we should stick to horse-drawn vehicles. After all, social advances can be as real as mechanical. Public relief can be a leverage instead of a crutch.

Throughout the length and breadth of the country there are resources, good will, and helpfulness which can be brought to bear to tide over the hard months of winter and spring and after. But there are too many of those resources which are inert, fragmentary, at cross purposes. Federal aid, rightly handled, through the states and by direct action where necessary, could serve as a magnet to galvanize and organize the whole field. The danger as I see it is in another direction, and that is that in personnel and method, there are regions so ill prepared to function that there is real doubt whether help will actually get through to the people who need it. But that is a reason for beginning now, if belatedly, and for federal aid to reach them direct if need be, rather than to sit down and wring our hands. And it is entirely conceivable that rightly handled such an emergency federal-state project would permanently raise the level of public-welfare administration over the country.

The income taxation that it would call for would do least harm to business recovery, and the purchasing and providing power it would spread out would help that recovery. Nor can we wait for hunger to stalk before equipping ourselves to act; nor be unmindful that hunger is after all only the crudest register of social devastation that is sapping the well being, the health, the morale and the productive force of our people. Long after business and employment pick up, the aftermath of relief and rehabilitation will be with us. The actual peak of the load will come after and not before a turn for the better.

WE must not forget that the heavy end of the burden of industrial unemployment comes down on the families of wage-earners for whom we cannot supply work. So far as American industries are concerned (they have not sufficient work, nor part-time work, to give) hundreds of thousands of such households would be hungry today. So far as the voluntary aid of our American charitable funds go (they have not the wherewithal to succor them) hundreds of thousands would be hungry. Those households are depending on public aid—town and city and county, and in some instances state. The question is not merely whether or not we need to fall back on the final federal trench-line of public aid. The question is whether or not we supply national leadership in uniting all these sources of succor into a common front of defense.

Thanks to these western senators, to the social workers who testified and to the labor leaders who bore witness to the spread of unemployment and the exhaustion of union benefits, such fragmentary facts as we have as to the situation are a matter of public record. Action hangs on fresh initiative on the part of the administration to try to redouble voluntary and local provisions or to supplement them with federal aid or federal loans to states and cities;—or it hangs on a groundswell of opinion reaching Washington calling for comprehensive legislation. On succeeding pages are published excerpts of testimony pro and con. Pro or con, write your members of Congress, for the issue is joined.

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CONDITIONS SHOWING POSSIBLE NEED FOR FEDERAL AID

Compiled by FRANK BANE, *Director American Association of Public Welfare Officials.*

ALABAMA. General financial condition serious. Bond issue for roadbuilding defeated. Many steel mills closed. Birmingham conditions extremely bad.

ARIZONA. Over half the relief budgets used for transients, Phoenix reporting 1700 in one day. Cotton districts in distress. Tax situation serious. State director of unemployment relief says federal aid is needed.

ARKANSAS. Except for rural sections, in bad financial condition with over one hundred bank failures. Road construction at standstill and people express intense desire for this form of federal aid. Conservative estimates place unemployed at forty thousand. Bituminous coal-mining sections and industrial cities hard pressed, lumber mills closed. Little Rock in serious condition, relief decidedly inadequate.

CALIFORNIA. Indigent transient problem most serious, with young men coming in large numbers. Los Angeles has over seventy thousand with fifteen hundred coming daily. Feeling need for federal aid.

COLORADO. Mining districts beginning to feel depression.

CONNECTICUT. Thirty-three towns out of 169 said to face acute situation. State well organized.

DELAWARE. Said to be in fairly good condition.

FLORIDA. Miami, Tampa and Jacksonville swamped with transients. Outside aid needed for them.

GEORGIA. Atlanta, Augusta, Columbus, Macon listed as black spots.

IDAHO. Conditions said to be fairly good.

ILLINOIS. Greatest need in industrial sections around Chicago and coal-mining sections. Williamson and Franklin Counties bankrupt, county relief cut off, banks closed, few mines running even on part time. People literally have no money, actual destitution in mining villages. Cook County has deficit of millions in meeting barest family sustenance needs. Rapidly growing opinion in favor of federal relief.

INDIANA. Northern steel cities most serious problem.

IOWA. Believed the state can handle it.

KANSAS. Coal mines of Pittsburg field have most serious conditions. Kansas City has inadequate funds. Governor states all federal road funds used up and six thousand employes must be laid off. "The greatest help," he says, "would be for Congress to appropriate at least $80,000,000 for emergency relief again this year for construction."

KENTUCKY. Soft-coal mining regions have the most serious problems. Twelve counties said to need help.

LOUISIANA. Industries almost at standstill, money scarce, much suffering in the cities and relief woefully inadequate. Steady, heavy increase in applications for relief and shortage of funds in New Orleans.

MAINE. Woodcutting almost stopped and Bangor faces big relief problem. Aroostock County hard hit with its potatoes selling for less than cost to produce.

MARYLAND. Queen Anne County in worst condition, Allegany County serious. Outside aid may be needed.

MASSACHUSETTS. State well organized and generally can care for its own. Conditions serious in Fall River, Haverhill, Brockton.

MICHIGAN. Conditions in regions around Detroit especially serious. Script used to pay teachers and county employes. Upper peninsula reports counties with much distress. Many feel need for state or federal aid. Grand Rapids relief funds exhausted.

MINNESOTA. Minneapolis, St. Paul, Duluth faced by serious unemployment and some iron-range towns.

MISSISSIPPI. Problem largely agricultural.

MISSOURI. Mining section may need help, e.g. Jasper County.

MONTANA. Conditions said to be fair.

NEBRASKA. Six counties hit by drought. Red Cross will help.

NEVADA. Local conditions not especially serious.

NEW HAMPSHIRE. Will probably be able to care for its own.

NEW JERSEY. State aid helping in most places. Borrowing power exhausted in some localities. Hoboken reported to have inadequate funds. White-collar employes from New York City one of most serious problems. State has appropriated $9,616,033.50 for emergency relief.

NEW MEXICO. Transient problem causing most difficulty. Town of two thousand inhabitants reports transient load of two thousand during one month.

NEW YORK. State aid helping to extent of $20,000,000. Estimated at least $50,000,000 will be spent in New York City.

NORTH CAROLINA. Rural conditions better with food plentiful but no money for taxes or debts. Greatest suffering in textile section.

NORTH DAKOTA. Drought in some counties with conditions reported quite serious.

OHIO. Relief funds have deficit of more than $2,000,000 with estimated deficit for 1932 of $15,000,000 which will be reduced by recent community fund drives. General conclusion that private funds will be insufficient, calling for public help from taxation, bonds, etc. Cincinnati and Cleveland have voted extra levies, other cities have voted them down. Unemployment officials feel state may be able to meet its needs.

OKLAHOMA. Tulsa and Oklahoma City are tragic. Coal-mining sections generally hard hit, especially McAlester section. Governor now has $400,000 left from gas tax available.

OREGON. Closed mills in several counties make serious problem.

PENNSYLVANIA. Central and western bituminous coal area most serious. Bank failures common. In Pittsburgh and Alleghany County about one third of total working population out of work. In Panther Creek Valley conditions deplorable. In Philadelphia unemployed 60 per cent over last year without corresponding increase in funds. White-collar group especially serious problem. Relief inadequate last year, prospect very bad for the winter.

RHODE ISLAND. State aid on a loan basis resorted to.

SOUTH CAROLINA. Spartanburg, Greenville, Charleston, Columbia having fairly serious conditions. Since mainly an agricultural state food is plentiful. Textiles have suffered.

SOUTH DAKOTA. An agricultural state, conditions not so bad.

TENNESSEE. General financial situation of state bad. In eastern mining area mines running only part time. Knoxville, Chattanooga, Nashville, Memphis having serious time. Probably needs outside assistance.

TEXAS. Situation complicated by oil, cattle, cotton. Border towns with large Mexican populations having serious difficulties. Shares in transient problem common to Southwest.

UTAH. Situation said to be fairly good.

VERMONT. Presents no severe problems.

VIRGINIA. Petersburg has serious problems due to closing of tobacco companies, mills, etc. Bituminous coal area depressed for several years and may need considerable assistance. Suburban areas of larger cities and textile centers have large relief loads. This state and many others could use additional federal road funds effectively.

WASHINGTON. Conditions not especially bad.

WEST VIRGINIA. Conditions especially distressing in twenty coal-mining counties. Relief standards throughout state below minimum budget requirement. Many counties have serious deficits. The Friends have established feeding stations in seven counties. School children hungry and insufficiently clothed. Need state or federal aid.

WISCONSIN. In ten lumber counties the industry has moved out. Milwaukee, Kenosha, Racine having difficulties. Strong sentiment for federal aid.

WYOMING. Conditions not reported especially serious.

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CITIES, COUNTIES, STATES CAN HANDLE THE SITUATION

Statement by **WALTER S. GIFFORD,** *Chairman, President's Organization on Unemployment Relief*

A CHECK of the unemployment relief situation by states which I have just made emphasizes again the existence in some parts of the country of great hardships resulting from unemployment. At the same time it indicates that, subject to action by legislatures in possibly some four or five instances, each state will care for its own who must have help this winter.

While the situation varies in different localities, local governments as a whole have probably always made the largest money contribution. The private agencies cooperating with them have, in general, taken care of the problems which the governmental agencies operating with a certain rigidity under statutes cannot so well handle.

These private and public funds, however, do not include what is called "invisible" relief. I refer to the cash aid and the board and lodging extended to relatives, friends and neighbors; to the aid given by religious, fraternal, labor and other organizations; to the voluntary or involuntary remission of debts by merchants, landlords and others, and to the aid—quite real in this depression—extended by business concerns to former employes. These are only a few of the items but it seems clear that if the total of this invisible relief, which is obviously incalculable, were known it would be found that the private contributions very greatly exceed the public.

Conditions differ in the various parts of the country so that no standard plan could cover all local situations, but a common objective is obtained in many different ways. Communities have organized under leadership of their own choosing and they have behind them a most popular local support and determination. There are a good many hundred thousand citizens who have made the undertaking their own in their respective communities by active participation. There are millions more who have made it their own by giving.

Widespread acceptance of responsibility, community by community, county by county, and state by state, has not only worked for providing relief funds but likewise for their discriminating and effective expenditure. In brief, the principle underlying the relief activities through the country has been that first, if possible, the individual community would look after its own. Next, if necessary, the county would help and then if the county were unable to meet the needs the state would help. It would seem that the combined efforts of communities, counties and states can take care of the situation this winter.

Should such community and state responsibility be lessened by federal aid, the sincere and wholehearted efforts of the hundreds of thousands of volunteers engaged both in raising and administering relief funds would doubtless be materially lessened. Individuals would tend to withdraw much of the invisible aid they are now giving; private funds raised by popular subscription would become less; efforts to spread work and to provide work that would not be done except for the emergency would be lessened; business organizations would tend to do less for former employes. Communities, counties and states undoubtedly would appropriate less public monies. The net result might well be that the unemployed who are in need would be worse instead of better off.

Also the effect of federal aid on federal government credit should be considered. If this were adversely affected, the real cure for unemployment which is obviously the restoration of normal business would be retarded.

COMMUNITY CHEST RESULTS

Statement by **ALLEN T. BURNS,** *Director, American Association of Community Chests and Councils*

TWO hundred community chests holding campaigns this fall, have reported a total raised of $67,206,696, or 101.2 per cent of their goals. Only 179 of these chests can be compared with results of a year ago. Some chests are new this year and others have become more inclusive. These 179 chests show an increase in total raised of 14.4 per cent. However, chests will increase their allotments for direct relief of families in their homes by 59 per cent.

About ninety more chests have held campaigns and have not yet reported because still working to complete their goals. When these results are in the total raised this fall will be approximately $80,000,000. Some ninety chests will hold campaigns after January first and will add another $20,000,000, making the total raised by chests for 1932 approximately $100,000,000.

In judging how far this $100,000,000 will go toward meeting the relief needs of the country, several facts should be borne in mind:

1. Community chests exist only in the more resourceful and for the most part larger cities of the country. Hence I am not qualified to report on the smaller communities, especially the single-industry towns, and the resourceless regions where welfare work is not well organized. In short, community chests represent the communities that ought to come nearest to caring for their own needs.

2. While the total raised by chests slightly exceeded their total goal, forty-seven chests failed by 10 per cent or more to reach their individual goals.

3. Only 35 per cent of the total raised by chests will be spent on home relief of families. The other 65 per cent goes to such indispensable services as hospitals, visiting nursing, child welfare, crime prevention and provision against the misuse of the immensely increased leisure time.

4. The 59 per cent increase in relief allotments which the chests this year are able to make should be compared with the fact that relief expenditures in these communities are now averaging more than 100 per cent over those of a year ago. There is no sign of abatement in these increased demands, and so no prospect of sufficient private funds to meet them.

5. Privately contributed funds, such as those given through community chests, constitute only 30 per cent of the total which communities spend for relief of destitution. The remaining 70 per cent comes from local government funds. These percentages are taken from investigations by the United States Children's Bureau, the Russell Sage Foundation and the Association of Community Chests and Councils. It is imperative that these local government funds be forthcoming in more than twice the amount furnished by private contributions and in more than twice the amounts supplied last winter from the public treasuries if the relief burden is to be adequately carried on a basis of local responsibility.

While each community chest leader has given his support to the efforts of local public officials to secure adequate relief appropriations, chests feel that there has been an absence of emphasis on this source of relief in the nationwide publicity of this past fall. Many chests report that even in their own resourceful communities this lack of adequate stimulation of local public relief resources may mean insufficient relief funds for the total needs of the present winter.

NEEDS AND SAFEGUARDS

Statement by **LINTON B. SWIFT,** *secretary of the Family Welfare Society of America*[1]

IN the first place, in nearly all communities throughout the United States standards of adequacy of relief-giving have fallen during the past two years, reaching a point in many communities where even a decent minimum of family health and well being is no longer assured. The payment of rents is being widely eliminated as a relief item, resulting in a great

[1] In testifying, Mr. Swift made clear that like the other social workers appearing as witnesses he was speaking in an individual capacity and in no sense committed his organization or its member agencies in the positions taken.

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increase in evictions and in an overcrowding of families under unsanitary conditions. The disproportionate burden upon landlords is partly responsible for an increasing volume of tax delinquencies.

Second, this lowering of relief standards is accompanied by a serious lowering of living standards.

Third, the decrease in relief and living standards, the pressure upon relief agencies with inadequate staffs and resources and the diversion of funds from other types of social agencies are seriously crippling social services in many communities.

Fourth, all statements of relief needs based upon an acceptance of the relief standards described above which have thus fallen below a minimum of health and decency are open to serious question.

Fifth, attention should be called to the enormous rise in relief need as reflected by comparative relief expenditures in the past two years, and to the expectation that relief will continue to pyramid. Each successive winter of unemployment finds an acceleration in the exhaustion of the resources of the unemployed. Even if unemployment does not increase, the number of unemployed needing relief will be vastly greater during this winter than during the past two years. At the same time that the resources of the unemployed are being exhausted, public and private resources are being depleted.

Sixth, the relief which is being given now from private as well as from public sources in most American communities is in effect "the dole," accompanied by most of the dangers to individual and public well being which are commonly discussed in connection with this term. That, of course, is a situation which should not be laid at the doors of the agencies, which are forced to give relief so inadequate that in effect it becomes a dole. Proposals for federal aid have no relation to the establishment *de novo* of a dole. A dole is a dole, whether it is given by an individual, a private charitable agency, a city, a state, or the federal government. It is a dole whether given in cash or kind.

Seventh, there are a number of communities which have or will soon have exhausted their public and private resources for unemployment relief. In some instances supplementation will be available from within the state. In other instances such supplementation will have to come from outside the state. I believe, for many reasons, that such assistance can not or should not come from any private national agency, nor through any national campaign for private funds; but that it is a direct responsibility of the federal government.

Believing, as I do, that the relief of distress is primarily, but not wholly, a local responsibility, and secondarily, but not fully, a state responsibility, and finally a federal responsibility, it is very evident to me that there will be a number of communities which must have assistance from outside their states. I believe there must be assistance from the federal government. However I should be against any system of relief which involved the setting up of complicated federal machinery over the entire country for the giving of relief directly from the federal government to individuals.

I think that the fear of the consequences of that sort of procedure is what is back of the common misuse of the word "dole." But the analogy with the English situation, for instance, leaves out of account the fact that we have a totally different governmental set-up in this country; and that we have intervening between the federal government and the communities the state governments, which are in themselves sovereign governments. That makes possible the first safeguard which seems to me to be necessary in any federal legislation.

The second safeguard is that the relief which is to be given locally from the grants received through the states from the federal government, shall not be mass-relief with all of the evils that attend such methods.

That requirement is met in the Costigan and LaFollette bills, first, through the use of existing local agencies which are in the habit of individualizing relief needs; through the requirement that the standard for relief shall be fixed by the federal administrating body as a condition for the making of the grants; and through the provision of adequate supervisory service on the part of the federal government.

The third safeguard is that sums appropriated should go where most needed, as distinguished from any entirely automatic allocation. I should also want to feel assured that the provision which is made by the federal government would stimulate rather than discourage state and local effort. That requirement is met through the necessity of an application by the state government on its initiative with a presentation of its program of handling the situation within the state.

And finally, I should want to feel assured that any federal appropriation, rather than creating a free-for-all distribution with a resultant lowering of relief standards, would be so designed as to raise those standards in the communities which receive aid from the federal appropriations. In general these safeguards are provided by one or the other of the two bills before the Senate Committee although further improvement on some points is desirable.

EMERGENT AND NATIONAL

Statement by **WALTER WEST**, *Executive Secretary, American Association of Social Workers*

IT is my conviction that more funds will be needed for direct home relief for the next two years than local sources, public and private combined, will make available. Social workers know that need for relief will pyramid this year beyond the previous peaks of necessity. There is still a wide margin between the number of applicants for relief and the number of unemployed. The latter continue to use their own resources, such as savings, help from relatives and their own credit. As long as the depression lasts the list of applications will be cumulative with many new names and few which can be removed.

Experience has also demonstrated that the need for relief is progressively underestimated. Official estimates often bear more relation to the amounts of money which can be raised or conveniently appropriated, than to the needs of the unemployed. Convincing evidence of this characteristic can be found in the supplementary appropriations and campaigns required during the past year.

In the attempt to meet an increasing need with inadequate resources, communities and agencies pare down their relief standards and accommodate themselves to practices and methods which would be abhorrent to them in normal times. Many agencies are now paying rents only to prevent eviction. In some cities rents are not paid at all. Food budgets are scaled down to levels below a decent living standard. Such pressure makes relief-giving more grudging and more piecemeal and emphasizes its worst features.

Obviously it would not be possible to appropriate enough money to replace all the payrolls which are lost. Whatever we may do this winter, we cannot prevent all suffering and all privation. Relief might be defined as adequate if it would furnish existing agencies with money enough for relief so that they would not be forced to turn the unemployed away, nor scale down the standards to an ineffective level.

Though road-building programs, public works and other proposals may be more constructive, it does not appear that any but a direct home-relief program of ample proportions will make the necessary sums available for the coming year, nor would these other methods be sufficiently flexible to meet the need for relief where it will occur.

The relief problem has ceased to be a local one. It is national in origin, national in scope, and beyond the capacity of the local communities. A program of federal action such as is proposed by the two bills before the committee is needed.

The Commission on Unemployment of the American Association of Social Workers has endorsed the general plan for federal relief programs as proposed in the Senate bills introduced by Senators Costigan and LaFollette. Action was based on the Commission's conclusion that the problem by its size had become a primary federal responsibility and that the nature of the proposals providing federal aid, stimulation and supervision for state and local administration of relief, effected a satisfactory and workable plan for cooperation.

The Commission made it clear in its endorsement that it would not consider a federal relief program desirable for permanent practice, but that it was now an immediate and emergent necessity in lieu of more permanent and constructive measures for dealing with unemployment.

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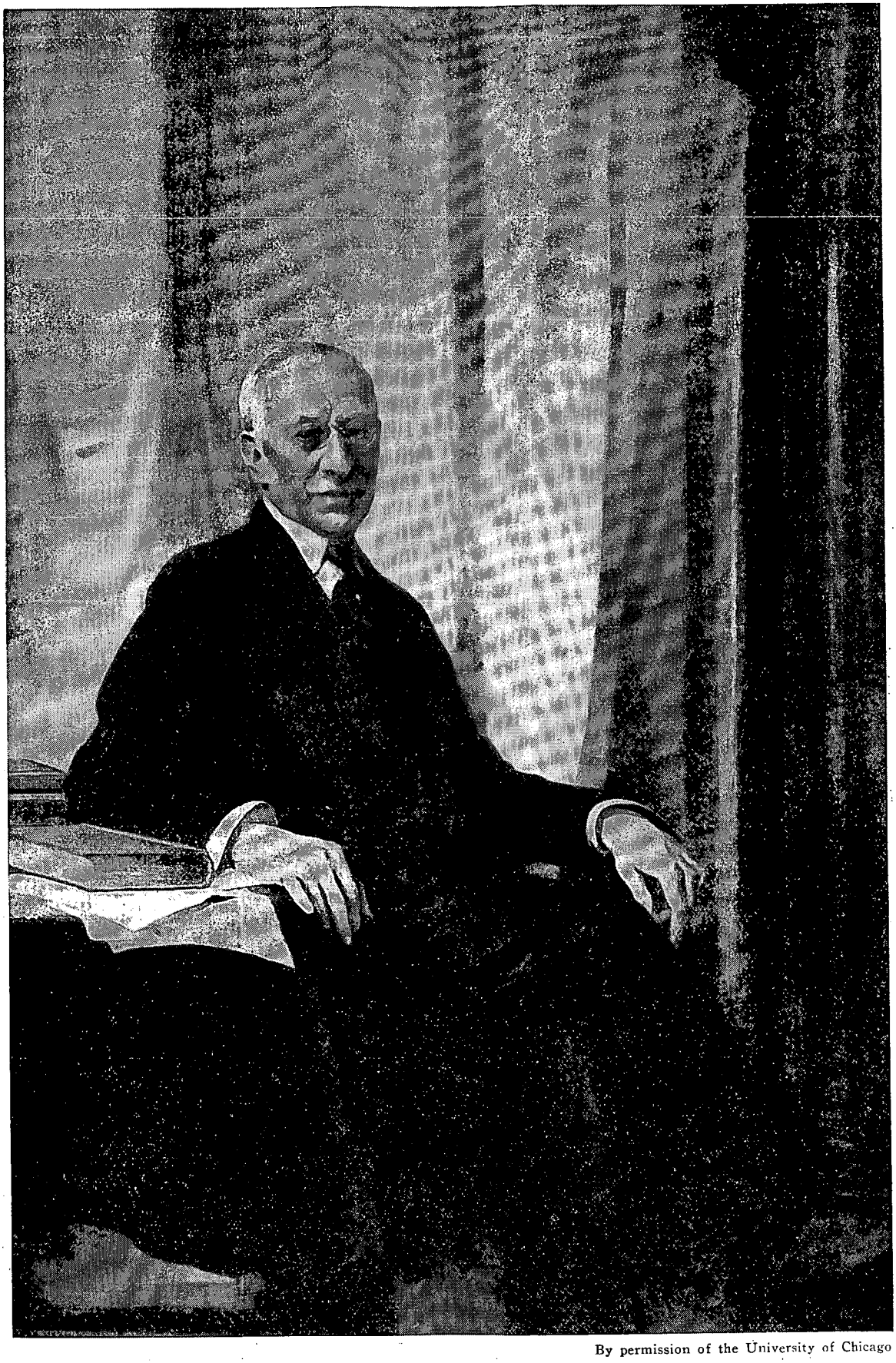

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JULIUS ROSENWALD, 1862-1932

Painting by John C. Johansen

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Julius Rosenwald—Fellow Citizen

By GRAHAM TAYLOR

MY tribute to Julius Rosenwald expresses only so far as words can do so, my heartfelt appreciation of his friendship and his fellow-citizenship through more than thirty years of our comradeship in serving our city. His genius for friendship is attested by the surprising number in many walks of life who pay tribute to him for what he was to them personally. And indeed he was so genuinely friendly as soon to make acquaintances his own friends. This genuineness characterized his personality and carried his whole manhood into every relationship of life. Those related to him in any one of his widely diversified spheres of action could not fail to be impressed with the man himself. For the merchant was the man and the man was the merchant; the executive in business, in trusteeships or on committees, was always one with others—a team-worker. "The man at the top," he declared, "usually gets too much credit. It is the able, willing fellows around a man who really do things. What could any man do if none would help him?" To protect from loss his company's credit and its employe stockholders' savings, he turned back millions of his holdings.

This human fellow-feeling penetrated and shone through every attitude taken in private and public affairs, in every part he took in social, civic and political movements. While never fearing to take initiative, or to speak and act independently, he did not want to play the lone hand in leadership, but sought to persuade others to join in whatever was to be undertaken for the common welfare. Indeed he resolutely refused to be a solitary patron, or anything like "a good angel," but insisted upon others sharing or assuming responsibility for carrying on what he may have made it possible to initiate or pursue.

The incidental features of his whole career reflected the essential qualities of his personality. All he was came into whatever he said and did. He lived life, as he saw things, whole. Of certain incidents occurring while we were enlisted in the same service, I may speak, as revealing this whole-souled, dominating characteristic of the man Julius Rosenwald was. For instance, such was his civic consciousness that his private citizenship involved personal participation in public affairs, and laid paramount claim upon his time, thought and action, upon his business ability and resources. Therefore at the call of the mayor of Chicago he served on the Vice Commission during the year of its successful effort to abolish segregated, police-protected vice districts, and he also helped the Committee of Fifteen to follow up the crusade; at the call of the governor of Illinois a few years later he actively participated in the strenuous efforts of the Chicago Commission on Race Relations to investigate and prevent the recurrence of the race riot, which had alarmingly menaced the safety and peace of the whole city; at the summons of his own business instincts he helped found and accepted the chairmanship of the Bureau of Public Efficiency; by the recurring appointment of the City Council, he served for twenty-two years as a member of the Chicago Plan Commission and its executive committee; and at the call of the president he volunteered much war-service at home and abroad. Meanwhile he actively cooperated with the Municipal Voters League and helped it found and develop the City Club of Chicago. In almost every political campaign he stood out for the better candidates and stood against the worst, yet supported and defended officials who were doing the best they could when they were unjustly discredited for being professional politicians or office-holders. When public funds were officially withheld from continuing a special prosecutor's arraignment and trial of certain spoilsmen, he promptly offered to advance what was needed to carry the prosecution through.

He saw the inter-racial problem whole. When asked why his interest and gifts were so large in promoting the welfare and progress of the Negro race, he said it was because he was interested in America, and did not see how it could go forward if its Negro people were left behind. To a group of his Negro fellow-citizens he said he was moved "as a member of the most persecuted race to help their next most persecuted race." Therefore also he enlisted as a fellow-trustee with Jane Addams of Hull-House in promoting the settlement effort to understand misunderstood races and classes, to protect them from injustice and to promote their welfare and valuable participation in citizenship.

THIS same human motive which moved him to demonstrate the need and practicability of commercially providing housing and health-service within the reach of people of moderate means, kept pace with his far-flowing support of educational and industrial institutions in the homeland and abroad. This support, extended by Mr. Rosenwald's personal contributions of over $21,000,000 and through appropriations from the $30,000,000 Julius Rosenwald Fund, ranged all the way from Tuskegee Institute to the University of Chicago, both of which he served as trustee; from the five thousand elementary schools for Negro children in the South to the college at Beirut, Syria, and Robert College at Constantinople, both founded by missionaries; from the colonization of persecuted Jews under the protection offered by the Russian Soviet government to the great Museum of Science and Industry founded by the gift of $5,000,000 to the City of Chicago.

In all this giving, the claims of present known needs were considered paramount to any claims which the unknown future might make upon perpetual endowments. Therefore, Mr. Rosenwald obligated the trustees of his Fund to disburse its principal, as well as its interest, within twenty-five years following his death. This innovating policy may prove to be its pioneer's farthest reaching contribution in eliciting the liberality of each successive generation in sensing and meeting its own needs.

How far Julius Rosenwald's religious spirit transcended all separating sectarian shibboleths. (*Continued on page* 501)

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This Picture and This

Two Paintings by Reginald Marsh

Courtesy Frank K. M. Rehn Galleries, New York

TEXAS GUINAN CLUB

ONLY two years ago the traveler to Russia could be impressed by the proletarian look of the street crowds as compared with the middle-class aspect of our masses. Now again the American scene presents a sketch in chiaroscuro, sharp contrast between luxury and poverty, such contrast as the juxtaposition of these two recent paintings by Reginald Marsh offers. They bring to mind, "Look here, upon this picture, and on this, the counterfeit presentment of two brothers." Marsh's imagination is caught by the vulgar, monied or poor, as they hunt escape in crowds. The night-club scene is an American study that follows his lithographs of kindred sucker (to quote the famous lady of the picture) spots in Paris and is being shown in one of the traveling exhibitions of the College Art Association; the Bowery painting recently won a prize at the annual American exhibition of the Chicago Art Institute. Marsh seems to have chosen great mentors, Daumier and, particularly, Forain, and like them he has been finding himself as a genre painter by way of vigorous magazine drawings of the life he sees.

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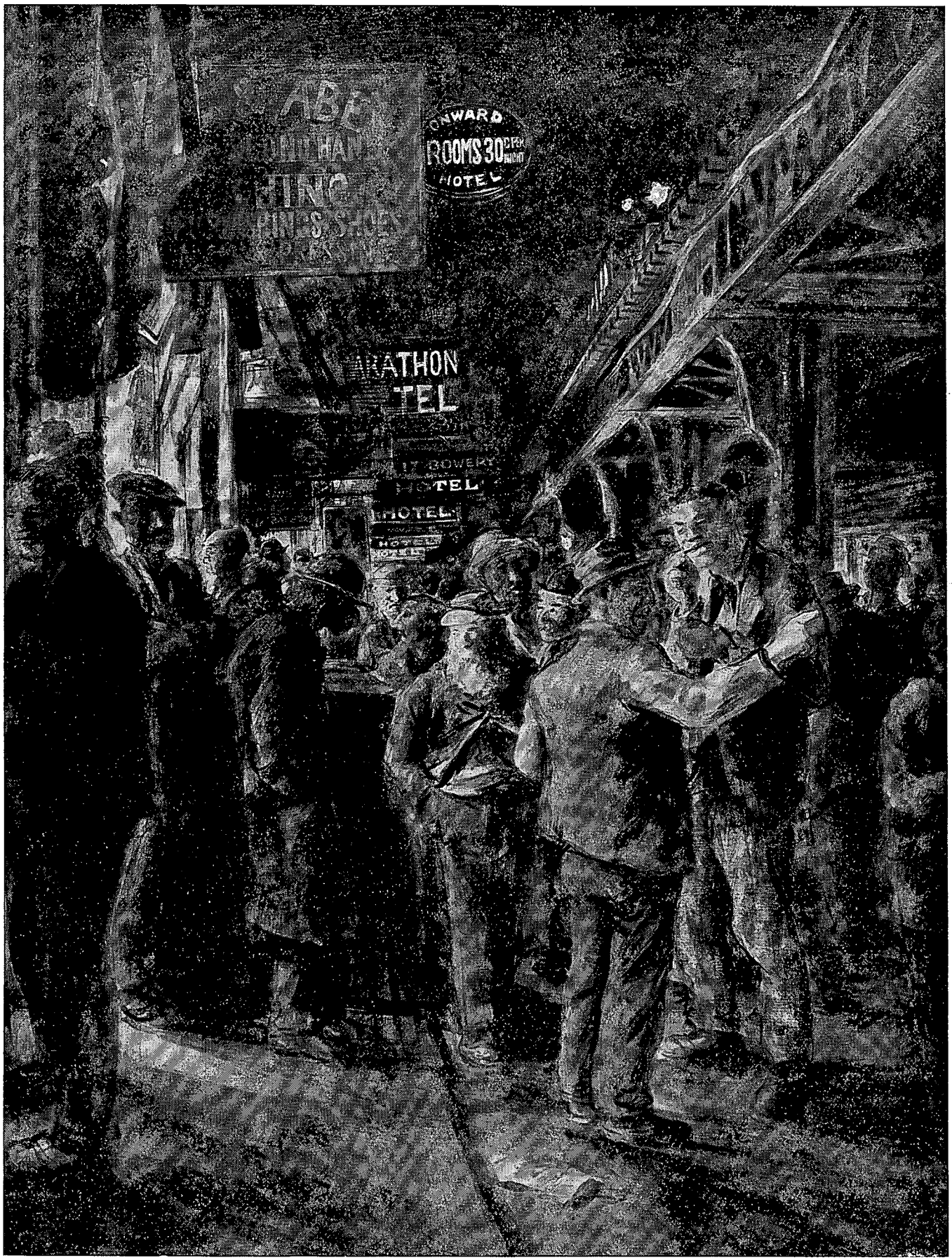

THE BOWERY

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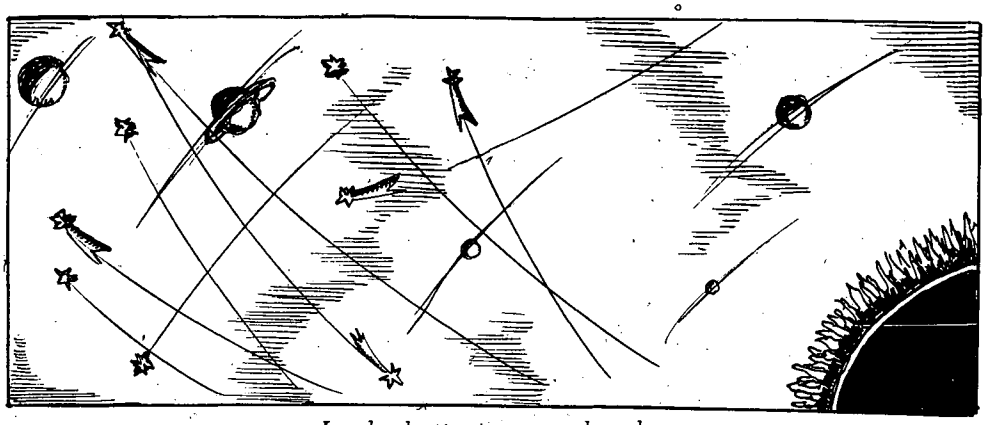

In the beginning was the plan

The Origins of Economic Planning

By LEWIS L. LORWIN

Drawings by Hendrik Willem Van Loon

IN the current discussion of economic planning, some speak and write as if planning were an entirely new concept; others as if it were a *deus ex machina* which can be brought into any situation to solve all difficulties. Let us look at the economic developments and intellectual mutations out of which the idea has grown.

For our purposes the last hundred years or so may be divided in a broad way into three major periods.

1 The first period covering roughly 1815 to 1850, was marked by the rapid development of modern industrialism over a limited area—England, Belgium, France and along the Atlantic seaboard of the United States—and primarily in a few industries, such as textiles and the iron trades.

This industrial development was unorganized and spontaneous, dependent upon the initiative, enterprise and energy of rugged individuals. There was no great concern over economic guidance or leadership, for plants were comparatively small, costs and profits were easily calculable, banks and monetary mechanisms were subordinate to business, markets were easily surveyable, world trade, while growing, was young, and the whole economic picture was one of comparatively simple relations and reactions.

It is not surprising that the prevailing economic doctrine of this period should have been that of laissez-faire. The ideas of natural right, of the freedom of individuals to buy and sell, to work and to seek profit, to move from place to place, of the separation between government and economic enterprise gave the new business man a solid basis of action. And the essential concept of economic life as an automatic coordination of exchange processes in a competitive market, in accordance with the laws of supply and demand, enunciated a view of economic guidance which not only fitted in with economic realities but furthered the needs of economic growth.

Yet, from the very beginning, capitalistic individualism and the doctrines of laissez-faire were challenged from points of view which contained the roots of our present-day thinking. The reaction against the "dismal" and pessimistic implications of laissez-faire, sympathy with the masses of the people adversely affected by the social dislocations of the new industrial development, and the urge towards democracy and nationality were the sources of the three main currents of thought—socialist, social-reformist, and nationalistic—which have fed the movements toward new economic forms ever since.

The socialist school of thought attacked the system of laissez-faire in its entirety. Regardless of their differences, the men of this school from Fourier to Karl Marx visualized the possibility of an orderly society in which production and distribution were to be carried on in response to some general conception of the needs of society and in accordance with a conscious ideal of social justice. Similarly, they all believed in the rational powers of the collective mind to shape economic destinies. Utopians and revolutionary socialists thus gave the world the idea of planning in its widest social and human meaning, though in an abstract and unrealistic form.

The social-reformist school was less coherent. As representatives, one may point

A Russian invention, growing out of revolution to further Communist ends—that, to many Americans is what economic planning means. Here an internationally known American economist traces the long slow development of the concept and technique of a planned economy in Western Europe and in this country. This article follows his outline of a Five-Year Plan for the World in the December Graphic, and serves as an introduction to his discussion of economic planning under American traditions and institutions in the next issue of Survey Graphic.

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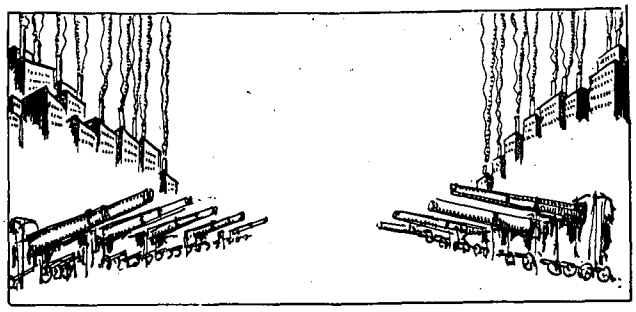
to the advocates of factory laws in Great Britain and America, and to critics of the classical economists in various countries. The characteristic of this school was the idea of the public regulation of industrial life to mitigate the evils of laissez-faire, with an implication of conscious control which was to have a larger development later.

The nationalistic current of economic thought traceable to the American demand for protective tariffs, was formulated into a definite doctrine by Frederick List in Germany. With this doctrine there emerged the idea of a national economic policy sponsored by the State not only to aid business but also to promote the development of economic resources in accordance with general national purposes.

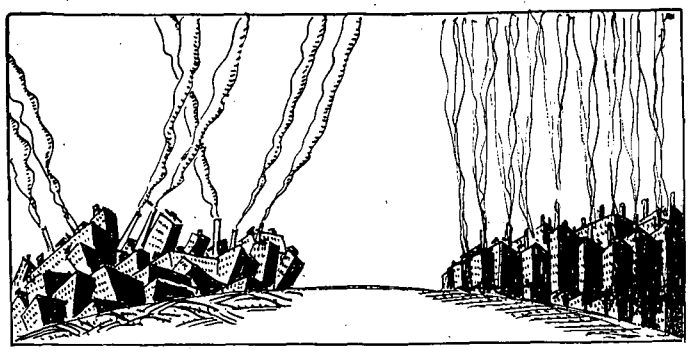
2 The second period covers the years from 1850 to the outbreak of the World War in 1914. It was marked by the enormous expansion of industrialism, until at the outbreak of the War this was the vortex of world economic life.

One country after another rapidly reorganized its economic structure, giving a larger place to industrial activities, transforming a larger proportion of its population into wage-earners, and striving to climb to greater heights of national welfare. The settlement of the western lands of the United States and of the habitable spaces of Australia and Canada, the colonization of Siberia, the development of South America, made available an abundant supply of comparatively cheap food for the growing industrial areas. In return, an ever increasing output of factories, mills, mines and shops poured into an expanding world market, enlarging the volume of world trade and raising standards of living to levels unknown in the world before.

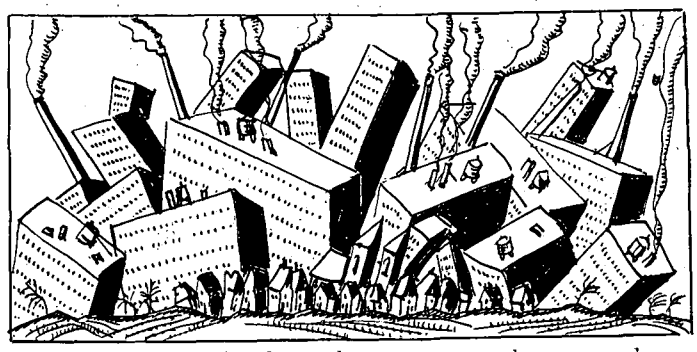


The war taught us that we could plan very nicely

During this period, capitalism also expanded structurally through the increase in the size of the business unit and the growth of the group form of organization. Though individuals still played a large part in shaping industrial life, the capitalism of the second period, in contrast to the first, was more and more a group or corporate capitalism. Partly because of this, partly because of the tendency toward an extension of power on the part of different corporations, the second period of capitalism was characterized both by an intensification and by a suppression of competition. On the one hand, the story of the rise of large corporations and



A world divided . . . half planned and half chaos



The only plan of industrialism was not to have any plan

"trusts" in the western world, especially in the United States, is one of hard, cruel, merciless and frequently shameful struggles between individuals and groups. On the other hand, these very struggles facilitated the formation of monopolies and quasi-monopolies which eliminated competition from many industries as well as from transportation. And these changes in the character and scope of the competitive process were furthered by the rise of trade unions, granges, farmers' societies, artisans' associations, and similar organizations, which in their turn with their millions of members decried "the evils of competition" and brought into play new forms and methods of co-operative action.

Under the stress of these internal struggles, all western countries developed systems of public control which were very similar in character, purpose and design. These institutions were of three different kinds: governmental — commissions like the Interstate Commerce Commission and Federal Trade Commission; non-governmental —trade unions and voluntary boards; and mixed—partly governmental and partly voluntary. In general they had three purposes: to limit the growth of monopolistic power; to regulate charges for specific economic services; and to help the wage-earners attain a greater degree of security and protection against the hazards of the growing industrialism.

In its migration to new countries, industrialism during these years had to adjust itself to a variety of political institutions and social traditions. In consequence, the capitalism of this period, while becoming world-wide, also became more nationalistic in form and purpose. Political considerations often entered into trade and investment abroad. At home governments used their taxing and other powers to stimulate and direct industrial expansion. Thus in Japan, after the Meiji Revolution of 1868, the government systematically helped build a great nation on a modern industrial basis. In Russia, industrialism was planted, if not planned, with the aid of government subsidies and protection. At the other extreme, there remained Great Britain with its laissez-faire and free-trade policy, while between were the United States, Germany, France and other industrial countries with varying degrees of governmental aid and direction.

During this period as a whole, capitalism absorbed and adapted to its needs many of the proposals made before 1850 by critics of laissez-faire. It took over part of the socialist program for giving the worker protection and security. It

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applied to a considerable degree the reformist idea of public control. And after a brief period during the 60's, when the doctrine of free trade was at its peak, it adopted, with the exception of Great Britain, the protectionist policy of nationalistic economics.

By so doing, capitalism, towards the end of this period in the decade from 1904 to 1914, became more regulated within countries, more social in its relation to the wage-earning class, more national in form and yet peaceful in its international dealings, thus disarming some of the criticism directed against it in its earlier stages.

These features of the second period, especially in its later states, gave it its prevailing optimistic outlook and tone. It was during the last ten years before 1914 that the ideas of progress, of world peace, of international good-will, and of economic and social stability played an important role.

The changes in the forms and character of capitalism during the second period had their reflection in economic thinking. Considering general trends only, one may say that economic thought during this period went through the stages of first attacking, then modifying, and then reconstructing the main types of theory evolved before 1850. The first attacks of the historical school and of the marginalists seemed to demolish the entire structure of classical economics. But what was significant was the fact that after these first attacks, the general tendency of capitalism towards a more or less stable equilibrium called forth an effort among economic writers to reconcile the newer with the older theories. This new synthesis was achieved in the neo-classical school which was to dominate economic thinking for two decades before the War, especially in England and the United States.

From the point of view which interests us here, namely from that of economic guidance and leadership, the neo-classical school merely refined and elaborated the theories of the classical economists. It gave greater precision to the concepts of supply and demand through the idea of demand and supply schedules. It presented the system of exchange based on individual choices and decisions as the regulatory process of economic life. It crowned its whole structure with the idea of economic life as a balance between opposing forces operating through prices and margins of profit. The consumer was conceived as the final agent determining the flow of goods, while the assumption of responsibility and risks on the part of the entrepreneur was held to supply the driving power for the entire mechanism. Further, the men of business regarded themselves as the unlimited rulers of economic life and the guides and leaders of economic destiny.

The outlook of this school was also ethically and socially optimistic. The assumption was that somehow marginal utility produced not only the best results insofar as personal consumption was concerned but also indirectly the best application of natural and human resources. The process was presumably such as to make all prices more or less expressive of the true worth of things and services so that the process of distribution on the whole was an equitable one. There were everywhere unearned differential gains such as buyers' surpluses and consumers' rents which gave most middle-class people something for nothing, and a more or less friendly attitude was shown to the economic and social advancement of wage-earners.

By concentrating on an ideal and abstract competitive exchange process, the neo-classical economists could not give adequate attention to the actual changes in that process which were going on, to the evolution of monopoly, and to the social modifications of capitalism. Their economic theories were acceptable to the business element of the community and to the prospective business leaders among the middle class, but being concerned with exegesis rather than with programs they lacked dynamic quality and remained largely the esoteric doctrines of academic circles.

The nationalistic school during this period elaborated mainly the concept of national economic life, stressing the interdependence of its different elements and the dominance of individual activities by the national organism.

Much more important was the reformist school which centered its efforts on clarifying the dependence of social welfare upon the setting up of social standards and the use of social controls. This school derived strength from the work of the socialists. As the economic changes became clearer, the latter shifted from their original uncompromising position and took the more optimistic view of a gradual evolution towards a higher social system in which their principles would be embodied. Without abandoning Marxism as a final end, socialists tended to substitute in practice the idea of complete control and social regulation for the older idea of complete reordering of economic society.

The concept of a planned economic society preoccupied chiefly the newer dissidents in the socialist movement—namely the syndicalists in France, the guild socialists in England, and the I. W. W. in the United States. More or less influenced by anarchistic ideas, the syndicalists contemplated a division of economic functions between different industrial groups and a central economic body. In the syndicalists' elaborations of this period one may find a clear anticipation of the idea of industrial and economic councils. But these social movements were more concerned with ideal social patterns than with practical policies and even syndicalism tended to drop its "revolutionary romanticism," and to adjust itself to what seemed a stable economic and social equilibrium.

3 The third period beginning in 1914 covers both the War and post-War years. During the World War the economic life of the world was shifted from purposes of construction and life to the purposes of destruction and death. Within every nation involved, all energies were concentrated on one goal—the defeat of the enemy, and to this end no sacrifice was too great.

In every warring country the control of economic resources was taken out of the hands of individuals and corporations and concentrated in the hands of those in command of the national destiny. The United States took some time to overcome individual and group resistance, but in the end the War Industries Board and the National Council of Defense, with the newly established government boards were practically in control of the economic mechanism of the country in their efforts to use it for the single purpose of victory.

Similarly in all the principal warring countries, planning suddenly came into being as a practical necessity. It was a limited planning, not only in purpose but in procedures. The governmental boards in the different countries tried to operate through the economic mechanism of profits and by enlisting the economic motives of gain. Still, it showed that

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it was possible even in the most complex industrial countries, such as the United States, England and Germany, to survey the economic resources of the country and to use them in a more or less unified manner. Regardless of "profiteering" and of many other shortcomings, the coordinating policies of the various governments did result in an immense increase in productivity, in a great expansion of industrial plants, and in the maintenance of the intense economic activity necessary for military purposes.

It was as a result of this war experience that the idea of planful economy first emerged in its newer aspects, divorced from socialist speculation. It was Walther Rathenau in Germany in collaboration with Wichard von Moellendorf who advanced this idea in 1917, on the basis of his experience as head of the department for the supervision and distribution of raw materials.

WITH the end of the War, the released social energies found form in a world movement for leveling economic and political inequalities. In the defeated countries, it expressed itself in revolutions and near-revolutions. In the victorious countries, it was manifest in demands for reconstruction in which the laboring masses were to have higher economic and political status. The political and social upheaval was carried along by the post-Armistice boom, and by the Bolshevik Revolution which dramatized to the world the idea of the masses coming into power. In the demand for a legal eight-hour day, for workers' control, for industrial councils in Great Britain, for the Plumb Plan in the United States, for national ownership of public utilities, for national economic councils in Germany and France, the pre-War ideas of social ownership and of public regulation, were merged with the incipient idea of planning, thus bringing into focus a newer and more realistic concept of national control and coordination.

Then came the world depression and deflation of 1921-23. The collapse of business and the disruption of economic activities, the widespread unemployment, the depreciation of currencies, the deflation of agricultural prices created a condition of political and economic confusion throughout the world. Political uncertainty, economic distress, and international animosities centering in reparations and Russia revived the ghost of an immediate communist revolution in Western Europe. But the tragic experience of Russia, especially the famine of 1921, had made the masses skeptical of the value of violent revolution. It was seen that a change in industrial ownership did not mean an immediate improvement in the condition of the workers. It was also obvious that the socialization of industry during a depression might mean added burdens for the government without any compensation to the people. A third result of these years of travail was the clearer realization of the need of international action to bring some order out of the world chaos.

From 1924 to 1929 the United States, Europe and other countries entered upon an era of prosperity which, considered as a whole, was a new period of capitalist expansion. Its most striking features were the world-wide application of the principles of technical planning within plants and single industries, scientific organization of work within separate plants, the simplification and standardization of processes, the application of psychology to the selection and training of personnel, the coordiation of technical processes to eliminate loss of time and to increase output per man and per unit of capital. Scientific management and rationalization became the dominant phases and were carried to unparalleled heights. Mass production became the slogan of the day.

The dazzling prosperity of these years could not but blind most people for a while to the strains and stresses which were gathering below the surface. In general terms what was happening was an accentuation of economic contradictions which tended to upset the balance of economic growth. Within separate industries, the new techniques based upon standardization and mass production increased total output while decreasing the number of workers employed. Changes in habits of consumption and this very technical efficiency created a wide disproportion between the productive capacity of certain industries and their effective market demand. Over-expansion and excessive capacity became more and more marked during these years, reaching in certain industries a chronic condition and causing serious difficulties. The disparity between agriculture and industry, due in some measure to the slowness of agriculture to adjust traditional forms of doing business to mechanical improvements and to new methods of industrial management, expressed itself in a price relationship which deepened the rift between city and country. And the great forward push of industry as a whole, accompanied by speculative tendencies in the United States and to a lesser degree in several other countries, made for margins of profit and big fortunes which further stimulated speculation, inequality and the misuse of resources.

At the same time, world trade though surpassing that of pre-War days, did not advance as rapidly as productive capacity, hampered by lagging standards of living. In contrast to pre-War days, when standards of living expanded simultaneously and progressively throughout the world, the post-War decade saw the people of many countries eager for better living standards but unable to achieve them despite growing world productivity. Undoubtedly, large masses of people made gains in their standards of living. Many countries beside the United States—France, Japan and some of the smaller countries which remained neutral during the War, such as Holland and Sweden—witnessed a great increase in comfort and leisure and in the ways of making use of both. But large sections of the world remained at the lower levels of living to which they had been reduced by war and post-war difficulties.

SOCIALLY, this lack of balance gave rise to many factors of instability. Increasing mechanization meant technological displacement of the worker. Cartels and mergers meant more rigorous employers' policies and weaker labor movements. High pressure salesmanship meant the enslavement of the consumer to artificial standards of consumption. The growth of mergers meant a limit both upon the number of individuals who could do business in their own way and also upon the sphere within which such individuals could operate. The concentration of financial control meant the growing dependence of the small investor on financial middlemen he could not hold to account. The wider application of science meant a growing gap between technical knowledge and skill and the business scheme of operation. Internationally, inequalities in the development of industrialism meant a widening disparity in the relations between the principal world powers and growing friction between the advanced industrial and non-industrial countries.

These contradictory develop- (*Continued on page* 512)

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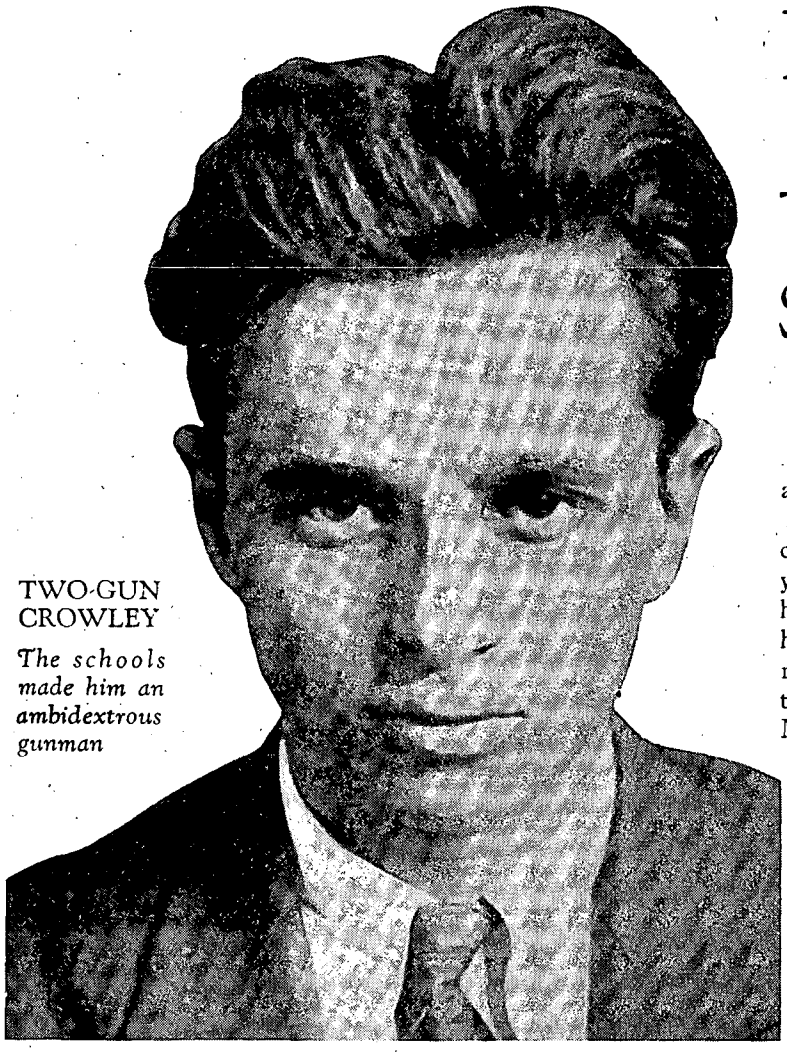
Francis Crowley *vs.* The People of the State of New York

By IRA S. WILE, M.D.



TWO-GUN CROWLEY

The schools made him an ambidextrous gunman

AWAITING execution for the murder of a policeman, a subnormal youth sits in the death house of Sing Sing as I write—a boy who fought it out with the cops. "New York must have something more than death for its mental defectives," said his attorney, Charles R. Weeks. And in his summation he further challenged: "Now society is partly responsible for the way this defendant comes up here today. Society, I say." He held society responsible "because this is not the first time he has come in conflict with authority."

Is this young man of twenty years solely responsible for his presence in the death house? Is this only a drab tale of a high-grade moron with low-grade morals? Is the state avenging itself upon a rebel or has an unstable person avenged himself upon a world that created, ignored and maltreated him?

The offspring of an immigrant housemaid and a policeman, or the son of a policeman, was Francis Crowley, a biologic reject, fulminating by unconscious domination against the blue uniform partially responsible for his unrespectable advent into life? The prosecuting attorney, Elvin N. Edwards, called him a "cop-hater." Was society responsible for the results of his illegitimacy?

At the age of one month this baby was placed in the licensed boarding home of a Mrs. Crowley, who gave him her name and all reasonable care during the years he lived with her. But he grew up without paternal guidance and the influences and controls of a natural home.

After two and one half years his foster mother became ill and he was sent to St. John's Home for three years, but returned again to Mrs. Crowley. At six he went to St. Jerome's School but, as an early truant, he was removed to St. Dominick's Home, where he remained for three or four years. He was released to attend public school, but was quickly taken to St. Michael's on Staten Island. After two nights there he ran away to his foster home. He went to Public School 43, from which he truanted. After an escapade involving window-breaking, he was brought before the Juvenile Court and for two months lived under its care until placed on probation. He left school at seventeen, unable to read and unable to write "The cow jumped over the moon." The district attorney, Mr. Edwards, remarked, "He could not have been in Public School 43 two and one half years unless he had done some writing and some reading. And he had to learn to read before he could spell in the printing machine and put up his stuff and turn it out." For strange as it may seem, this illiterate child was placed as an ungraded pupil in a printing class!

Was society responsible in any way for his educational limitations? I am conjecturing that part of his troubles lay in the fact that he was a born misfit in this world and part of his sinister record as a gunman grew out of the effort to make him right-handed when by nature he was a sinistral. A complete record is lacking but even in his crimes one notes the evidence of his primary left-handedness. He killed Patrolman Hirsch with a gun held in his left hand. He carried it in a case fastened to the left side of his belt. He could shoot equally well with either hand, but he testified that he really shoots better with the left hand than with his right. At the crucial moment he whipped a revolver out of his coat pocket and with his left hand fired three shots into a policeman before the latter could fire. In his own words, "I grabbed my gun from my right hand to my left hand and I shoots him three times in the right arm."

"Two-Gun Crowley" became so because of society's insistence that he become right-handed contrary to his natural bent; it made him ambidextrous in shooting. But his limitations in learning were accentuated by the school efforts to make him conform to the rule of the majority. His school capacity being limited, and feeling the nervous strain of efforts at conversion to right-handedness, he sought escape

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from his sense of inadequacy and school failure. He became a truant.

Truancy is frequent in the history of juvenile delinquents. It is a rejection of a social mandate, a refusal to abide by authority, whether because of lack of understanding, of fear, or of insufficient parental influence. This boy resisted the pressure and advice of his foster mother and the teachers in parochial and public schools. He could not learn, but he could avoid the further deflation of his growing ego. He defied the rules and the state law. He absented himself at will and finally he broke school windows. Then the law hailed him before the Juvenile Court. In 1926 Dr. Leavitt reported that this boy of fourteen and eight-twelfths years had a mental age of ten and two-twelfths years; that is, an I. Q. of seventy-six. Apparently his poor cerebral endowment had not been recognized until an age when average children are preparing to enter highschool. With a history of chronic truancy and inability to learn to read and write, society placed him on probation—and, because he truanted from the regular classes, sent him to a printing class!

An I. Q. of seventy-six is the rating of a border-line defective, and in the light of his past behavior it should have been a warning signal to society. Did society note or heed the warning? It must have been evident when he entered a parochial school at six years that he had the mental equipment of a child of four and one half—and with this he attempted to cope with the intricacies of formal education. Educationally he was a failure and the Juvenile Court was the second institution which failed to protect him.

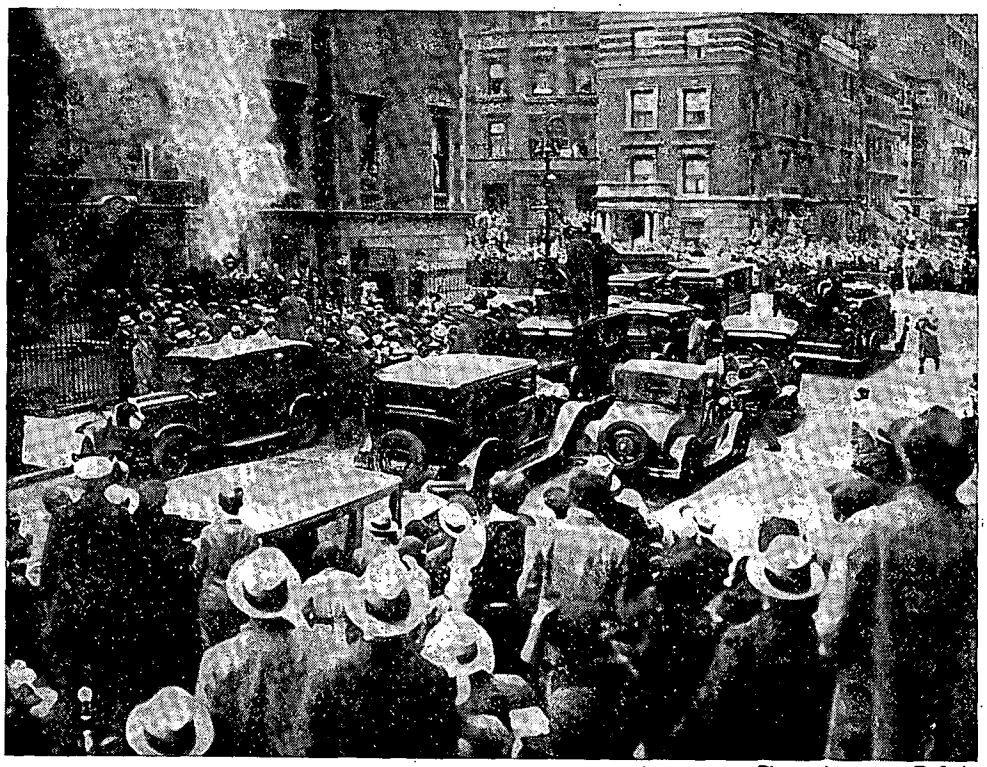
True he was taken to the Post-Graduate Hospital clinic and treated for a time, but without results. Hence Dr. Richard Hoffman, his own psychiatric witness at his trial for murder, could testify that Crowley was sane, knowing right from wrong. He called this warped, frustrated, mentally limited, immature-minded youth "a moral imbecile"—a person who from an early age exhibited some permanent form of mental defect accompanied by propensities for evil, vicious conduct, upon whom punishment had little or no effect. He pronounced him at nineteen years "a menace to society," but he was equally a menace when he made his contact with the Juvenile Court five years before.

Several incidents merit recital as possible influences upon his life and outlook. At the age of eleven years he fell from a trapeze and sustained a concussion of the brain. At about the same age, while playing ball someone cried out, "Cheese it the cops." He fell from a wall and was brought home unconscious. When he was twelve or thirteen his foster brother, John Crowley, was killed in a revolver duel with a patrolman. This undoubtedly made an impression on Frank. In a note left by him, though written by a girl, he stated: "I learned to hate cops because they were always suspecting me on account of my stepbrother having been killed in a fight with a policeman." He added, "They finally arrested me on a stolen-car charge of which I was innocent, and after I got clear I determined to fight them." This must be weighed carefully as to truth as his tendencies to lying were accentuated at every threat to his safety. Dr. Hoffman referred to him as being "of the constitutional inferiority type suffering from mental retardation, moral delinquency and emotional instability." He attributed Crowley's hostility to the police to a frustrated superiority complex.

IT is significant that this backward boy for a time was experimenting with the strength of our judicial system. He had escaped the Juvenile Court and entered into an era of self-support with adventure, excitement, love and lone banditry. While working as a union apprentice at lathing from the age of seventeen, he was mischievous and generally considered irresponsible, tending to loiter on the job. He was the only one of seven apprectices who failed to attend night school because he was "no good at books," but he was capable on his job and earned as much as $44 a week, of which he gave $20 to Mrs. Crowley.

At the beginning of his apprenticeship he spent his spare time with boys, but adolescent interest in the opposite sex was changing his outlook on life. He was small, five feet three inches in height, weighing one hundred pounds, perhaps slightly effeminate, intellectually ineffectual, evincing a compensatory pompous vanity and believing in self-glorification by temerity. He sought out girls and stole automobiles to take them riding. After the thrill of the experience he abandoned the cars.

On May 3, 1929 he was arrested for stealing a car. He pleaded guilty to grand larceny, but his employer rallied to his support, had the plea withdrawn, persuaded the district attorney and the grand jury to withdraw the charge and reemployed the boy. On July 4 he was again arrested for a similar offense and the case was dismissed; and once again on October 21 with the same result. On November 16 he



Photos by Acme P. & A.

Crowley's big moment when he shot it out with 150 of the police whom he hated

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was once again arrested and the judge offered to be lenient if he would plead guilty, which he refused to do. His foster family prevailed upon their former parish priest to intercede and he was released on parole on condition that he avoid his bad associates. With six months of his parole still to run he was suspected of being involved in a shooting at an affair at the American Legion Hall. He had violated his parole. He now felt he was wanted by the police and thought, "I couldn't go back to work . . . the police want to pin this on me." When his three companions were caught, he had dropped out of a window to the street and got away.

HE was now set up in rooms with a girl who had caught his fancy; not working, he needed funds to support her, and he was still giving money to Mrs. Crowley. This girl was the one who later betrayed him to the police when Francis brought another girl, a youngster of sixteen, to their "love nest" after the murder in Black Shirt Lane. This younger girl and he were having an affair on a more ethical plane, a ring having played a part in it. She apparently disapproved of some of his friends and activities and gave back the ring. He states, "She threw me down and I went to the dogs. I now began to drink and went back to the gang in the Bronx which I had tried to keep away from because Helen disapproved of them." Later he went to Merrick, Long Island, because he was tipped off that she was there, and it was while sitting in a parked car, a stolen Ford, that the final crime in his meteoric career was committed. Helen, witness to an unplanned crime, was the one to give the damaging evidence that brought about his conviction. And it was the other girl, the one with whom he lived, who out of jealousy of Helen betrayed him to the police. Crowley's women were his undoing. Adolescence was hard on him.

After he had stopped work for fear of arrest as a participant in the brawl at the American Legion Hall, Crowley needed money. He went to Philadelphia and purchased two revolvers, two blackjacks, two pairs of brass knuckles and ample ammunition. They strengthened him for offensives that his weak body and hands could not undertake. Shortly thereafter one of his cronies, Duringer, who has since paid the death penalty, killed a dance-hall hostess and Crowley's association with him led to police interest in his whereabouts. He now was wanted by the police. He knew it and was apprehensive. He had been caught by the police four times before and he alleges they had beaten him.

March 13, 1931 was an unlucky day. While he was visiting his brother-in-law's office, Detective Schaedel came in and recognized Crowley. Schaedel took a gun from him and they wrestled. With Schaedel upon him he reached for his second gun, fired upward between his own legs and wounded the detective. He rushed downstairs, jumped to a neighboring roof—and then a small man with his hands nonchalantly in his pockets walked out of a front entrance and among the policemen searching for him. He defied all authority and respected no man, though "praying every night."

The hunt was now on in earnest, but he was able to go to Philadelphia for more guns and ammunition and to steal automobiles in New York. One short term in jail increased his sense of ability to fight it out with the police. He became a "stick-up man." He held up clothing stores, a drug-store, and a plasterer on a train from whom he took an $1100 payroll. He was continuing to fool his enemies.

But Nemesis was close at hand. It was on May 6 that he went to Merrick in the stolen car, found Helen and drove with her into a blind lane. Patrolman Frederick Hirsch came up to the car and asked to see his license. There is nothing to show that Hirsch suspected or threatened him. But under pretence of getting the license, his handy left hand drew an automatic and—"bing, bing, bing." Hirsch's body sagged to the ground. Taking and using the policeman's own gun he signalized his complete conquest of law by firing a bullet into the prostrate body. Helen, sitting beside him, had later to testify to what she saw.

The details after this moment are bold and daring, sane and well organized—a wild ride back to New York, pausing to change license plates, tear off the shades and knock out part of the windshield to remove evidence of bullet holes; reloading all his weapons to be ready for another struggle; abandoning the Ford, taking one taxicab and then another to cover his tracks to the retreat on Ninetieth Street.

Billie Dunn, his regular girl, was not at home, but when she returned and was introduced to the equally fugitive but loyal Helen she sneered, and Crowley struck her. That night Billie was given to Duringer while Francis held close to Helen possibly in appreciation of her moral support in those hours of crisis. In the morning Francis told the girls to go out for the air. They did so and returned, but Billie Dunn, the dethroned, started out again—this time with revenge in her mind. She tipped off the police and a short time later the battle with the police began. It was the big hour of Crowley's twisted life.

Inspector John J. Sullivan had pronounced this boy of nineteen "one of the most dangerous criminals at large." Commissioner Mulrooney later called him "a coward." Be that as it may, this slender stripling shot it out for two hours with 150 policemen armed with automatics; machine guns and tear-gas bombs. Ralph Duringer, who weighed two hundred, hid in a closet with Helen or sought safety under the bed. It was a triumph for this vain little boy who wanted to be a big man. With exultant pride he cried upon the surrender, suggested by his male companion, "Anyway you didn't kill me," even though he had been wounded four times. To the end he was "Two-Gun Crowley." Before he was taken to Bellevue Hospital on a stretcher, it was found he had two loaded automatics inside his trousers, fastened to his legs by a piece of sheet.

IT was in the spirit of braggadocio that he had had a note written during the bombardment in which he dictated, "I hadn't anything to do. That's why I went around bumping off cops." He confessed later he had intended to kill another cop. The great moment of his life showed his colossal egotism, his blindness to the laws of probability, his vanity, his puerility, his lack of judgment. If he had fought 150 men in the war, he would have been a hero; under the circumstances he was a poor fool. And the siege was turned into a tawdry display with motion-picture cameras and all the trappings of tabloid journalism. Trapped at last, Crowley had failed to live up to his boast that he would not be taken alive by the police.

The wheels of justice turned rapidly. Dr. Gregory pronounced him sane and accountable for his actions and twenty-four hours later he was indicted for murder in the first degree. Most capable counsel, Charles R. Weeks, was assigned to him by the presiding Justice, Lewis J. Smith. The trial of the case of The People (*Continued on page* 509)

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Great Ladies of Chicago

By ZONA GALE

THE great ladies of Chicago.

Once the words would have meant women in expensive clothes and jewels, giving brilliant entertainments. But one applies it here to a group of women who have given their lives—how rich the phrase is!—*have given their lives* to others.

The Hull-House group. Women who serve, as royal families are supposed to serve. Women who have mothered thousands, as women are expected to mother "their own." Women who have awakened the social conscience of Chicago. Women who have created a center of social energy for a nation.

Outpourings such as this have occurred here and there, in the world. In Italy, as love of learning; in Palestine and India, as love for God and man; in England, when the Lake poets sang; in America, at Concord, Mass.; perhaps at The Hague, and at Geneva, in another cause—a cause allied to these.

At Hull-House you have love of man, of woman, of child; you have the need to foster growth of body and mind; you have the sovereign urge to create a livable neighborhood, city, nation, planet. You have the instinct for life more abundant. You have, in short, a group of women who arose there by the Five Lakes, and blessed a continent.

First of them all—and easily first of all women in America—is Jane Addams who, with Ellen Gates Starr, founded Hull-House. This social urge, as distinct as the will to art, was in Jane Addams in her youth, and flowered early, in the eighties, in the establishment of this center for the neighborhood, at 800 South Halsted Street. A center not only for dealing with material necessities for the life of the neighborhood, but with necessities of recreation, work, health and the things of the mind. It was a new idea in Chicago, almost in America. Hull-House. There were indignation and criticism. What! Interference with the rights of citizens, abrogation to outside sources of the individual's right to muddle along? There were those who understood, a few, with that clear genius to see what another is driving at, even though the drive is new. Charity was not new. Good Samaritanism was not new. Lady Bountifuls were not new. Brother's keepers were not new—if you knew your brother well enough. But neighbors to neighbors unknown—that *was* a departure. Jane Addams was a departure. This she hardly knew. She moved about, seeing things to be done.

With her moved Ellen Gates Starr, whose special care was art and bookbinding. "Art and bookbinding for *those* people?" Chicago naively asked. When Sarah Fairchild Conover went down from Madison, Wis., to live at Hull-House and conduct a class in Browning, everyone said "Well, of all . . . " and could get no farther. They had not heard that labor leader of forty years later who hurled across the room his first copy of the Oxford Book of English Verse and cried: "So *this* is what has been denied to my people!"

Early in the life of Hull-House came Mary E. McDowell, now for many years head resident of the University of Chicago or the Stock Yards Settlement, but early identified with the Hull-House group. Her biography, lately published, gives a story vital to group living. A great service came in that early moment when the hand of Hull-House began to reach out beyond the neighborhood as at one with the health of Chicago, and Chicago's sanitation as but the larger neighborhood problem. The story of Mary McDowell's fight for decent garbage disposal is the story of women-errant. She was enlisted in the Urban League—the work for and with the Negroes of Chicago, and in the national work for the advancement of colored people; in work for the immigrant, for women in industry through the trade-union league, and in internationalism. In 1923 she was a commissioner of public welfare in Chicago—she was one of these women keeping house for the city.

These women have their special gifts and special vision to meet special needs. There is Florence Kelley, and her awakening had been to the conditions under which factory workers supported life and did their work, and the conditions from which goods were poured into the country, carrying possible seeds of infection and death. The country rang with her Consumers' League—with her revelations of factory abuses, with her cry to the consumer not to permit the evils which their buying could control. Not only the garbage-pail at Chicago's back door, but the very garments worn by Chicago and the nation were revealed as the concern not of private enterprise, but of public welfare. To Mrs. Kelley is traceable much of the factory legislation of the state of Illinois.

AND Julia C. Lathrop, whose gift of insight—and of tongue—was for the human beings in the almshouses and the insane asylums. In those days such places were delicately put behind the cities, not only in spots remote physically but remote to public attention. To the comfortable people who permitted their taxes to take the place of their conscience, Julia Lathrop came crying the most unwelcome news. She spoiled their evenings. She told the truth. She educated the people to conditions for which they were accountable. She went to the State Board of Charities. But because the dream of prevention always succeeds social indignation, she turned to the underprivileged child, to Juvenile Court work, and later went on the National Labor Committee, of which Jane Addams was already a member. In time she became the first head of the Children's Bureau at Washington.

There is Grace Abbott, long a resident of Hull-House, trained in the technique of handling social problems wisely and with foresight, and so equipped that she became the president's appointee to head the Children's Bureau on Miss Lathrop's resignation. Earlier her special care was the immigrant. In those days all agencies for the guidance of immigrants had not been thought of. The bewilderment of these visitors then so widely urged to come to America, their trust in the new world and their exploitation by it—these became the particular care, among many cares, of Grace

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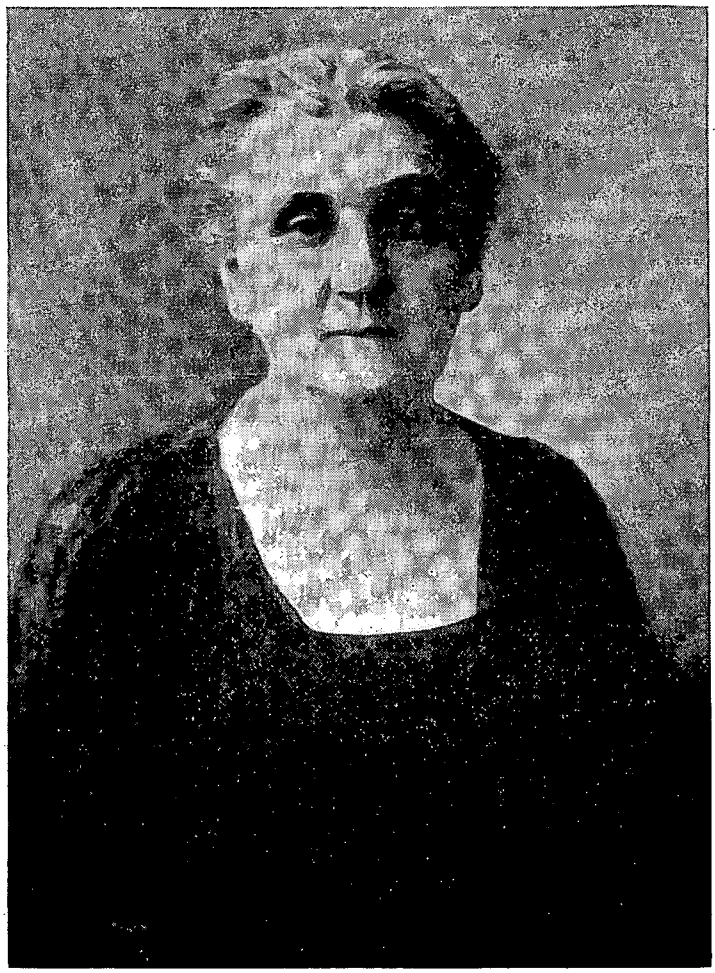
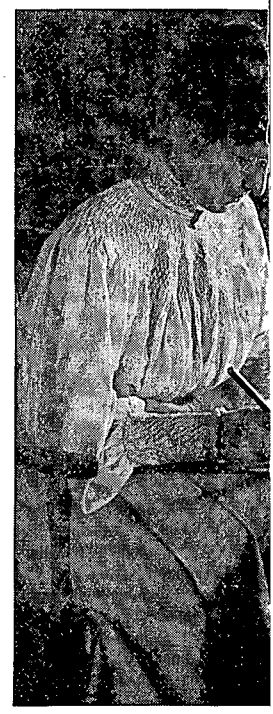
The Great
Hull-H



Jane Addams

Sophonisba P. Breckinridge



Ellen Gate

Julia C. Lathrop

Louise De Koven Bowen

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Ladies of House

Starr

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Grace Abbott

Florence Kelley

Mary E. McDowell

Alice Hamilton

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Abbott. She became director of the Immigrants' Protective League of Chicago.

And there is Sophonisba P. Breckinridge, that Hull-House resident whose specialty was an outgrowth of the need for trained workers in such a center. No one who has ever lived in a neighborhood house can fail to know the trials of the awakening conscience of the volunteer worker: the eager, bright-eyed offer to help—"Anywhere, anything!" "What can you do?" "Whatever you need!" "When could you come?" "Any day. Any hour!" "Could you come on Wednesday?" "Well—not very well on Wednesday." "Could you come on Thursday, at seven?" "Well—seven is a rather bad hour at our house. . . ." And the lack of a knowledge of operation now long proved to be rather more technical than is, say, typing. Graham Taylor, who says that Hull-House was his own stimulus in founding Chicago Commons—Graham Taylor established the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy, for the training of social workers. And when the school was taken over by the University of Chicago, Miss Breckinridge became dean of the School of Social Service Administration. To this office Edith Abbott, another Hull-House woman, has now succeeded.

Mrs. Joseph T. Bowen, long a member of the Hull-House board and now its treasurer, is one of this group. Her record of personal work and personal contribution is long and sometimes dramatic—as when she found herself, a large holder of Pullman stock, with her social interests allied against her individual interests—when working conditions in the Pullman shops needed improvement—the former of course triumphing. As the president of the Juvenile Protective Association and vice-president of the United Charities, she is close to problems of great groups. Her story in her autobiography, Growing Up With a City, is the story too of the growing up of this Hull-House group of women. Of these also is Mary Rozet Smith, whose interests have overlapped those of Hull-House at every point, and whose comfortable and beautiful home on the North Side is a kind of annex to Hull-House.

And all these women, as a matter of course, were equal suffragists. Their great preoccupation was to extend the opportunities of men and women to serve community and nation. The struggle for suffrage for women was a part of their routine.

IT was inevitable that the interests of Hull-House should extend from the neighborhood, to all Chicago, to the state, and to the nation. The housing of the neighbors about Halsted Street led directly to the whole housing problem, and the safety and sanitation of the tenements were early challenged. Fire hazard, cubic air space, plumbing, the proportion of lot to be covered, became abruptly the concern of the public conscience, for Hull-House stood there, not so much accusing as enlightening—and then working. Tenements, factories, child labor, child nurture, health, immigration, social control as the complement to mere political control—and all these, as the conscience of the people was touched, reaching into city ordinance, into Illinois statute, into federal law. Children played on Halsted Street, were gathered in by the women of Hull-House—and given vacant lots as play places; but then straightway all the tenement children of Chicago became their concern; and there was a campaign first for vacant lots for play-places, then for equipped playgrounds, and at length the whole magnificent system of recreation yards and Field houses arose, all over Chicago. Finally, in 1907, the first meeting of the National Playground Association of America was held there. Like that, things rayed out from Hull-House—a spark there which kindled a great fire. Great ladies of Chicago, in charge of a planet.

AND there are to be listed numberless names of those who received a social impetus at Hull-House, and who went out to other fields. Outstanding among them is Dr. Alice Hamilton, who combined scientific training and social vision to such a degree that the federal government appointed her as an investigator of industrial diseases. This was while she was still a resident of Hull-House. Since that time her reputation has become international as an expert in that field. Dr. Hamilton is the first woman to hold the rank of assistant professor at the Harvard Medical School. And there were MacKenzie King, who became premier of Canada; Gerard Swope, president of General Electric—it was at Hull-House that Mr. and Mrs. Swope met; Walter Gifford, president of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company; and Charles and Rho Fiske Zueblin.

All the time, when any time there was, Jane Addams had been writing—setting down, between the doing of things, some record of activities and impressions. There was the age-old story of women's wrongs and rights—and her own long identification with the struggle for woman's suffrage; and the Long Road of Women's Memory was written. There was the story of prostitution and the white-slave traffic; and A New Conscience and an Ancient Evil appeared. There was the urge of youth and joy as she saw it rise and suffer defeat, and The Spirit of Youth in the City Streets was born. And from the whole experience of her years the flaming brand of Democracy and Social Ethics and the brave and exquisite unfolding of all this in the two Hull-House books—the record of a house that was also a star. She had time for everything save for preferment. The only public office that she would ever hold was that of inspector of streets and alleys for the Hull-House district.

It was inevitable that Jane Addams should be a pacifist. From her youth her social vision had outstripped that of her contemporaries, and it was so in 1914. But who can forget her valiant effort to find some way in which to function—in the feeding of the people. Who can forget that glorious trip of her and her group to the courts of Europe, saying: "What is the reason for settlement by slaughter, which settles nothing?" Who can forget her standing in packed Carnegie Hall and crying: "If Russia needs warm-water harbors to export her wheat, give her warm-water harbors. Who can forget her forward look, her calm facing of misunderstanding, when her crime was but a vision beyond that of her day? When the whole story is reviewed in the days to come, they will remember that she who kindled the light in Hull-House, sent from Hull-House one of the first American demands after 1914 for sanity in international dealing. As president of the Woman's International League for Peace and Freedom, presiding at world conventions in The Hague, in Zurich, in Vienna, in Dublin, in Prague, she has carried to the world her own first word uttered when she founded Hull-House: Neighborhood.

Great ladies of Chicago. Women whose vision of social responsibility would set right a world now struggling in the results of its own lack of social responsibility. Women who have understood for years the word that would set us right: That man is not his brother's keeper but his brother's brother.

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Growing Up by Plan

By FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

NEWS that the Regional Plan of New York and Its Environs had completed its work and published its prophetic findings reminded me vividly of that day nearly twenty years ago when Charles D. Norton and my uncle, Frederic Delano, first talked to me about the City Plan of Chicago. I think from that very moment I have been interested in not the mere planning of a single city but in the larger aspects of planning. It is the way of the future.

Out of the survey initiated by Mr. Norton in Chicago has developed something new; not a science, but a new understanding of problems that affect not merely bricks and mortar, subways and streets; planning that affects also the economic and social life of a community, then of a county, then of a state; perhaps the day is not far distant when planning will become a part of the national policy of this country.

It is remarkable how this germ of thought has taken hold all over the United States; how the Chicago Plan and afterwards the Regional Plan for the metropolitan area in and around New York, have spread over the country; how almost every city that counts itself progressive is thinking in terms of the future; how that thought has spread down to the smaller communities known as villages and spread upwards, as we know well, in the neighboring county of Westchester to include planning for the entire county; and how in exactly the same way the thought of the future has taken hold of those of us who are charged with conducting the affairs of a state government.

I wish that the Regional Plan Committee had started its work before 1922; that was over a generation too late so far as I was concerned. I might say it was over a century late. If the Plan had been started in 1817 it might have prevented my great-grandfather from selling his farm in Harlem and moving up to Dutchess County. He let go of it because the young people of that day got into their buggies in what was then New York City, some seven miles away, in the evening, especially on moonlight nights, drove out to his country place and parked inside his gates. The old gentleman was so distressed by these young people that he sold a perfectly good farm of 125 acres—a farm that now is bounded by Fifth Avenue on one side and the East River on the other and ran from 110 Street to 125 Street. Of course, if he had held on to it and hadn't moved to Dutchess County, probably the family would have been so rich that we should have died out and I shouldn't be here now!

It is high time for this city and this country to take thought of the future. Let me expand for a moment that thought of Dwight Morrow's—the cost of *not* planning. You and I who are in middle life remember well the countless buildings in this city which, when we were young, were considered the last word not only in architecture but in usefulness. They have gone; torn down to make room for buildings three times as high. You and I can remember literally the days when goats browsed in the pastures of Harlem. Yet in those days, when there was opportunity to plan for this year of 1932, nobody gave a thought to it. New York grew up like Topsy.

That is true not only of this city, but of neighboring cities of Long Island; it was true of Westchester; it is true of much of the nearer parts of New Jersey and Connecticut. There has been no thought for the prevention of waste. Good, hard dollars were invested in structures, public improvements, private investments of all kinds with the expectation on the part of the people who put up the good dollars, whether they were private investors or mere taxpayers, that the particular structure their money was going into would last through the ages. Today it is torn down. Think of the waste of it; the unhappiness of it! Think of the lives in this city which today are being lived under distressing conditions, which would have been vastly better off if our grandparents had thought about the future!

NOW if that is true of a city, how much truer is it of the larger community. Three years ago when I went to Albany—just to cite one of many examples—I found that the State of New York had a shortage of twelve thousand beds for the patients in our hospitals. When I say a shortage I do not mean that we turned these patients away. I mean that in hospitals then in existence twelve thousand beds had been crowded side by side into corridors, so that the conditions were a disgrace to the state. It was only then that we began to plan for the future. As a result of that planning, within another three years we will have worked out a sound five-year plan under which every patient who is a ward of the State of New York will be housed according to the best modern practices. It was at the cost of a bond issue to be sure, but from the time when we have caught up with the needs we will be able to pay as we go

THE GOVERNOR of New York has for many years been an outstanding advocate of a practical kind of regionalism which would bring producers and consumers together not in a city market but on their own acres of farmland or rural village. Mr. Roosevelt has written elsewhere of the ebbing of the great tide of population which surged for so many years from country to city. He has showed how changes in electric power and in transportation have tended to decentralize industry. Here he writes on the glowing promise of planning as a way to the better life, with practical examples, from his experience as farmer and as governor, and delightful stories running back to his great-grandfather and the time of joy-riding in buggies.

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every year to care for the increased number of patients caused by a normal increase in population. Yes, regional planning has hit Albany at last!

It isn't a mere question of sociology, of welfare in the sense of taking care of the dependent and the sick. It is also a question very largely of economics; and when we get into that field we open up a vista of which we can scarcely appreciate the magnitude. Let me give an illustration. Two or three years ago down in Georgia, as I happened to be passing a station on one of the through railroads, there came by a long milk train made up of fourteen or fifteen tank-cars and milk-cars laden with milk and cream and running on passenger schedule. I said to the station master, "Where is that train coming from, northern Georgia?"

He said: "Oh, no, that train originated in the State of Wisconsin. It is loaded with milk and cream that came from the pastures of Wisconsin and Illinois, and it is being taken across those two states, across the State of Indiana, across the State of Kentucky, across the State of Tennessee, across the State of Georgia, and then down to be used by the consuming public in Florida."

I SAID to the station agent: "We get perfectly good milk around here; why doesn't the milk supply of Florida originate at the nearest practicable point, the State of Georgia? I know that they can't raise dairy herds in Florida because of the cow tick, but Georgia hasn't got the tick. Why don't we in Georgia raise the milk for Florida?"

He said: "That is one of the mysteries that we are all asking about."

Here was milk coming to Florida half way across the United States!

Some three years ago we were in somewhat the same condition in this state, and my good friend the commissioner of health of the City of New York aided and abetted me, shall I say, by avoiding or evading the letter, while keeping to the spirit, of the Constitution of the United States. At that time the people of New York City were getting their milk from all over the United States. The New York State farmers and the nearby farmers of Pennsylvania, New Jersey and western Vermont called it bootleg milk when it came in from Iowa and Wisconsin and Maryland. The commissioner of health very properly held that no milk should come into the city except from inspected sources; in other words, except it were milk that had been approved as to its purity. Now it was quite impossible for the State and City Departments of Health to inspect dairy farms all over the United States. So we told some of our good friends out in the Middle West and the Upper South that we could only take milk into New York that had come from inspected sources. Then we did a selfish thing, if you like, but a regional thing which has been justified economically. We inspected dairy farms only in the State of New York and the nearer points in New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Vermont, and that is where the milk supply of the city comes from now.

And what is the result of this planning? Your dairy farmer within this New York City milkshed knows approximately the needs of today and of the future. If he is told by the Dairymen's League, the Grange and other organizations that too much milk is being produced within the shed, he is apt to follow out the recommendation that he should not bring to maturity as many heifers as he expected to. On the other hand, if he knows that there is room for a greater consumption in the City of New York, he has the information on which he can base a larger dairy herd. Planning!

The result is that the dairy farmers within this metropolitan milkshed have suffered less from the depression during the past two years than any other set of dairy farmers in the United States.

Now carry it further from the practical point of view. A lot of us upstate farmers think that New York apples are better than any other apples in the United States. But the consuming public prefers the Washington and the Oregon apples. Why? Because they are better wrapped and have got pinker cheeks and are better burnished. Now I have nothing against the western apple, but the time is coming when the apple growers of this state will realize that if they will emulate the apple-packing of their brothers out on the Pacific Coast, they will have their own market in their own neighborhood. Again, planning!

So you could go on with agriculture, in which the trend all over the United States is toward the regional application of planning; that is, saving unnecessary cost, bringing the producer into closer contact with the consumer. And Heaven knows, that is one of the most vital problems today. *There is something wrong with the City of New York and a lot of other cities when the farmer fifty or sixty miles away gets two and a half and three cents a quart for his milk and the mother of a family in the City of New York pays twelve and fifteen cents for that same milk the next day.*

These are problems which can't be solved by ukase. They might be solved by a Mussolini, but that isn't our method of solving things. We have got to do it by planning, and by the same token I think that we can apply the theory of planning to the whole trend of population.

I have been rather an explorer in the general thought of land utilization. We have heard very often that land is the basis of all wealth. That is true. It has been exemplified by theories in regard to taxes by Henry George and many others. But there is an addition to that theme which is equally true. Land is not only the source of all wealth, it is also the source of all human happiness. Now that is an important factor in planning anything ahead. Let me illustrate.

HOW many people are there out of employment today in this country? If you believe the administration in Washington, four or five million. If you believe their opponents, nine or ten million. Take it half way between—a lot of people out of employment, and add to them twice as many again to represent their dependents. Where do most of those people live? Where is the dependent unemployment in this country? I am speaking in general terms because there are thousands of exceptions that prove the rule. But if you will go through the smaller communities of New York and Connecticut you will find no starvation, no evictions, few people who have not got an overcoat or a pair of shoes.

And if you go on into the farming areas, you will not find people starving on the farms. On the contrary. There is suffering, there is deprivation; but in the smaller communities and on the farms, there is not the same kind of being up against it, of not knowing where you are going to sleep tonight or where you are going to get the next meal that you find in the cities. So I venture the assertion that at least three quarters, and probably more of the dependent

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unemployed throughout the United States today, are in the cities.

That brings up the question as to whether we have not gone far enough in talking about the mere size of cities, in the old, now outworn chamber-of-commerce idea of boosting.

Not so long ago the four cities of Newburgh, Poughkeepsie, Kingston and Hudson, up the Hudson River, each had a "live" chamber of commerce. The Chamber of Commerce of Poughkeepsie spent at least three quarters of its time in running down Newburgh, Hudson and Kingston, and the other quarter of the time in talking about the advantages of Poughkeepsie. The Chamber of Commerce of Newburgh adopted the same policy about Hudson, et cetera. It was a case of running down the other fellow in the hope that you would boost yourself thereby. They were thinking in terms of population, and every ten years when the census-taker came along and told one of those cities that it had thirty-nine thousand people the population rose up in arms and demanded a recount because they were perfectly sure they had forty-five thousand.

It was a great public issue. They put their trust in Bigness. They wanted size. And I can illustrate that mania throughout the nation by the story of a very charming lady who came out of the West in 1928 on a political mission and spent Sunday on the Hudson River with us. As I drove her down through the City of Poughkeepsie to Vassar College to see some friends she had there, she said:

"This is a very nice little town. What is the population?"

I said, "About forty-two thousand." And I was not exaggerating. I was talking census figures.

She said, "That is quite impossible, Mr. Roosevelt."

I said, "The United States Census said so."

She said, "It can't be. You have not a singe skyscraper here."

Is that not a false criterion? Are we not beginning now to visualize a different kind of city? Are we not beginning to envisage the possibility of a lower cost of living by having a greater percentage of our population living a little closer to the source of supply? So much closer that instead of paying fifteen cents a quart for milk they might be able to get milk for six or seven cents for which the farmer gets three cents? Some people will object that that means more people turning out more agricultural products, and thereby increasing an existing surplus.

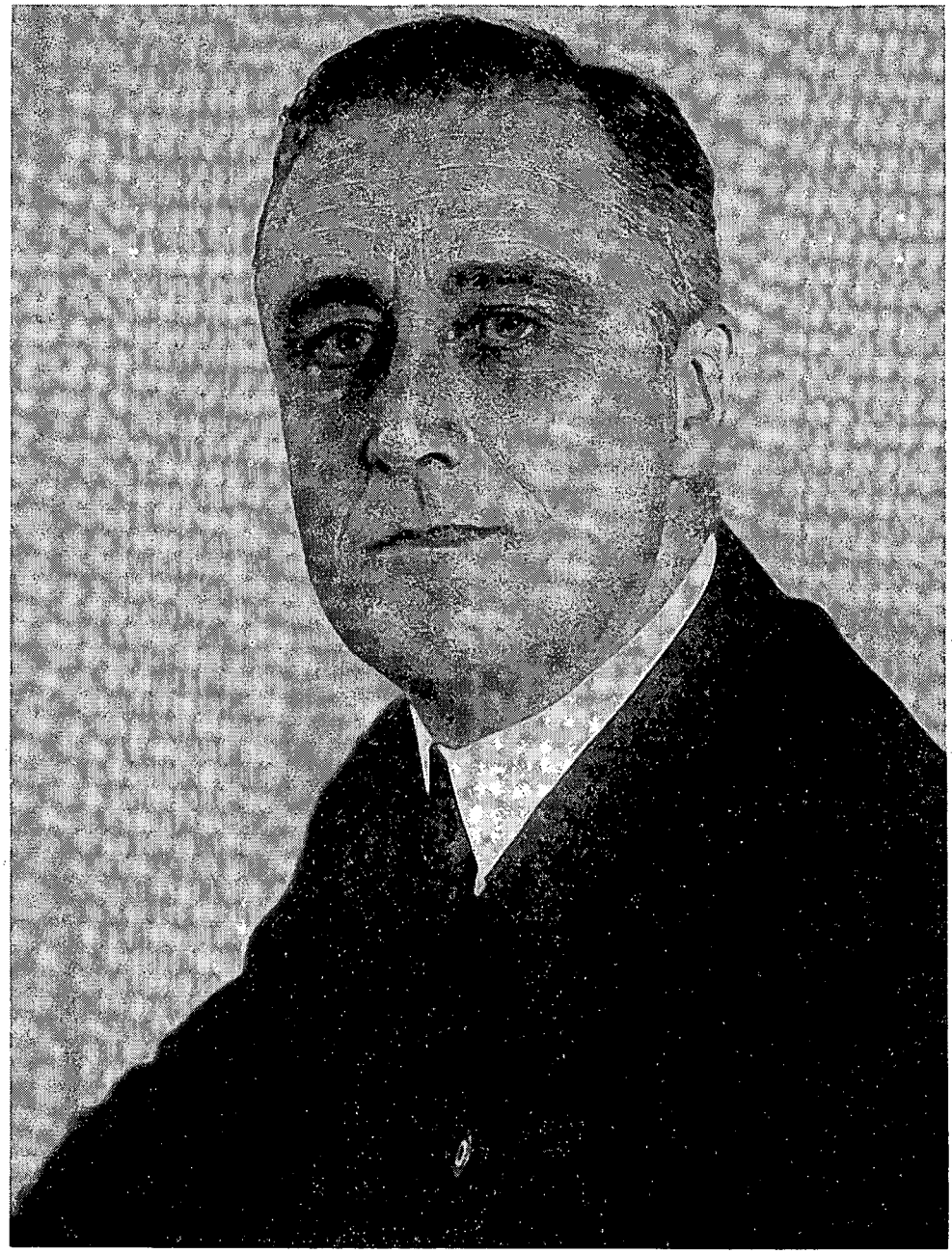

Photo by Underwood & Underwood

GOVERNOR FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT OF NEW YORK

But put yourselves in the place of the mother of a family who in her meager budget now is able to buy one fifteen-cent quart of milk a day for three or four children because she cannot afford more. If she could buy that milk for seven and a half cents would she rest content with one quart? Of course not. She would buy two; and there you have the health of the future of the race as an added factor. I don't know much about the modern theories of medicine, but I do know that a great many of our doctor friends are blaming a type of city life as being the cause of the increase in numbers in our insane asylumns. Some eminent doctors making a survey of European cities have advanced the theory that city-bred families, bred under tenement-house conditions over a period of three or four generations, die out. It may be a form of birth control which this human race of ours is bringing upon itself whether it likes it or not. We hope blindly that government in some miraculous way can prevent any future economic depression, that government or some great leader will (*Continued on page* 506)

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The Simple Life of New York

By MARY ROSS

A FEW days ago I met an old friend on the street. After the usual preliminaries she asked brightly, "Are you joining the nuts and berries brigade?"

I disclaimed any interest in dietary cults.

"Oh, I don't mean that," she went on. "I mean the back-to-the-land rush among our urban intellectuals. Why, I know five or six couples who have lost jobs or incomes and have just decided to go to the country and chop wood. I still have my own job, but I must say the simple life looks pretty good to me right now."

The people she had in mind were also acquaintances of mine—writers and artists, for the most part. They were fleeing a city in which suddenly they found themselves classed as a luxury trade. With one exception they had no children; in the family that did, the children were so young that "education" had not yet become a family topic. What they were doing was to scrape together all the cash they had, give up the city apartment, and retire to the week-end shack till the storm blew over. It was not so much a return to the simple life as a hibernation through a hard winter. When better times returned to the city, so would they. Meanwhile the money they had earned in the city or still were earning in smaller driblets would go further where there was little temptation to spend it; a country winter would be a lark for a change. Best of all, what a relief to end all the worry about one's shaky or dwindling income at one fell swoop by forgetting it for a season or a year!

Needless to say people who have savings to fall back on and a shack and woodlot to retreat to are still in the luxury class. For many of those to whom 1932 spells the "simple life" there is no lovely outlook on sun setting across snowy fields, but the bleak prospect of pounding city pavements in search of a job or the still bleaker vista of municipal lodging-houses and breadlines. In her casual use of the phrase, however, my friend was thinking in terms of people such as herself and myself, who were jogging along much as we had done before, not rich in the boom nor broke in the depression. Yet on the one hand depression has awakened and bruised our sympathies; and on the purely selfish side it has given us a jolt to realize that it was only a lucky turn of chance that one's self was not that draggled person sunning on a park bench. The city's streets look less golden than they used to; the quiet towns look green in the distance. How inviting the phrase, "simple life." As I went on through the traffic about my business I began mulling it over again, not in terms of this winter's tragedies, but of the self-interest of middle-class going families.

For ten years my horizon was bounded almost exclusively by the towers of lower Manhattan, with occasional side-flights to green wilderness in New England. I had come to accept what Americans are fond of saying as boast or reproach: that life in New York is more rasping, more nerve-wracking, more complicated than anywhere else in the world. Then within a few months professional errands and a vacation took me on expeditions to the South, the Middlewest and the Pacific Coast. Here were vistas of tree-lined avenues such as I had frequented but little since my childhood in a middle-sized city; bustling towns on the make, and a slightly faded little city of apparent leisure; glimpses of friends whom I had not seen since we wore freckles instead of sun-tan, and of people whom I had known only through letters to and from a New York office. As I came back, a little bewildered, and quite content to settle down again in a hole-in-the-wall such as one calls home in Manhattan; here, somehow, life seems so much simpler and easier.

I am not thinking of the merely mechanical aids to living that New York supplies so lavishly—cheap and plentiful taxicabs, for example, household servants who will come for an hour or two a day, the ubiquitous delicatessen and obliging restaurant; the possibility, if one has the money, of satisfying almost any material want within the radius of a ten-minute walk. Nor even of the galleries, theaters and museums that so often are given as a charm of metropolitan life. It is something less tangible that explains, I think, why thousands upon thousands of young people are drawn to the great city each year and once here remain, however much they deplore their roles as subway rats and traffic robots.

THERE are a number of things which the professional middle-class family must buy in New York, if they want and can afford them, which people of the same sort would take for granted elsewhere or get at a much smaller outlay. Among these are: Space, sunlight and quiet in one's home. Private education for one's children unless one is willing to put them through the overcrowded mill of mass education, probably less progressive than public education in many other places. Summer vacations away from this reflecting oven of asphalt and brick.

On the other hand there are a number of things which New Yorkers of this stripe need not buy, though in the suburbs just outside and in towns thence on to the opposite coast, except for the very largest cities, they seem to be an essential of family life. For example:

An "address" in a "good residential neighborhood." A "good" car. Membership in the chosen country club or its equivalent with all that goes with it in standards of dress, entertaining and the like.

In short, for one's self and one's children, conformity to a social setting.

On one of my southern expeditions I ran afoul of the predicament of a naïve New Yorker caught on the reefs of small-town etiquette. I had gone to this delightful little city in search of facts for an article, armed with appropriate introductions and greeted with the utmost cordiality. In the course of my search it seemed that I might find interest-

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ing the point of view of a clubwoman who had been a generous sponsor of the work. I consulted a member of the local staff as to the best way to approach her.

"Shall I just call her up," I asked, "to ask if and when it is convenient for me to call?"

"Ye—es," she said hesitantly, then "Did you bring a formal evening dress? You see, when Mrs. Blank knows that any New York visitor is in town she always gives a dinner-party."

"I brought a lace dress," I replied, "that I'd wear to dinner anywhere in New York short of a Fifth Avenue palace. But it does have sleeves."

From her look I realized that this would not do. Then her face brightened.

"How is your bridge?" she asked. "I could suggest that she make it a luncheon."

UNFORTUNATELY my bridge just wasn't. The impasse was complete. I could not meet the lady on a professional plane without incurring complications which, at the moment, I was not equipped to carry through in a manner befitting her social circle. Fortunately our meeting was not essential to my business, and so was avoided a situation which would have been embarrassing, I was assured, to her and to the staff of her pet philanthropy, if not to me. Such a social complex would hardly be possible in the simple life of New York.

This is a rather extreme example of a sort of attitude that I found fairly consistently on my travels.

"What!", exclaimed a minor government official in Washington, a friend of past years, whose salary was probably above the average as government salaries go, but still distinctly modest, "You drive a Ford!"

"Yes," I explained, as his face began to register the fear that he had been rude, "It's all we can afford and it does very nicely for country weekends."

"It would do all right for what we need, too, I guess," he said after a moment, "but everyone hereabout seems to be running to second-hand Buicks and we've got to have at least a Chevrolet."

In a middle-sized city in the Middlewest there came a respite one evening in a series of serious meetings and several of the visiting contingent decided that they would go forth and dance. We hit upon a bright clean little place with good music, a good floor, and an entertaining crowd of youngsters, and passed a thoroughly pleasant and respectable evening. As might have been expected in one of the strongholds of the temperance movement, no violation of the prohibition law was visible or even believable. A few days later I called on a resident of the town to whom I had a purely social introduction. She asked me what I had done during my visit and I mentioned this evening. She shrugged her shoulders:

"I've often said to Jim that it would be fun to go down there some evening to dance, and it would—but you know, all the girls in his office go there with their boy-friends, and somehow it doesn't seem as though it would be quite *dignified* for the executive. . . . "

Yet I can hardly feel that a New York lawyer would feel that he was in the wrong place if he fox-trotted past his stenographer on an eminently respectable dance floor.

It was in the suburb of an eastern city, in the early fall, that I sat down to a cup of tea with a college friend.

"I can't see how ever you manage to be gallivanting away from home at this time of year," she said. (As usual, I was traveling on business.) "Even without a job, I have more than I can do to get the house in order and Betty ready for school."

Then followed a story of what must be bought for Betty in the way of school dresses and coat, party dresses and best coat, slippers, shoes, socks of various kinds, and so on.

"Sometimes I think it would be easier if she were a boy," my friend sighed, "because their clothes are more standardized, but I guess they are even *more* expensive and you can't get in a dressmaker to economize. When I see those little suits advertised—almost as expensive as a grown man's . . . "

Now I have both a son and a daughter and I try to keep their wardrobes at a status which makes them comfortable and inconspicuous among their associates, remembering my own youthful agony when I happened not to own a pair of white slippers at the needed moment and did not want to ask my parents for what I now realize they would have been only too happy to supply had they had an inkling of its importance to me. My children go to a private school which is a luxury in one sense, since its fees consume more than 10 per cent of the family's budget. But, like the rest of the children in that school, they go prepared to enjoy themselves on its playground, in its clay-room and carpenter shop, clad in corduroys and sweater, bloomers and middy blouse, usually topped off with overalls—honest-to-goodness blue jeans. At a quarter before nine in the morning in that neighborhood you can easily pick out the children en route to the public school in an adjacent street by their comparatively dressy costumes.

My friend also lamented the rivalry in children's parties in her social circle, and her child's insistence on spending every Saturday afternoon at the movies.

"All the other children on our street go every week," she said, "and of course if I tell Betty that she can't she thinks I'm mean and very naturally complains because there's no one left to play with."

I DON'T believe that my elder little New Yorker has seen more than half a dozen movies in his eleven years, and those were selected because they were of special interest to children. We do not have to be swayed by what "our street" does. That is just as well, seeing that I am often obliged to explain to out-of-town visitors that the rows of cars parked along the curb do not mean that people in all these dingy houses are having parties, but merely that the neighborhood is honeycombed with speakeasies. In other cities a part of town compounded of houses remodeled into "studio" apartments, speakeasies, delicatessens, shoe-shining parlors, gift-shops and garages, with an occasional leftover factory or livery stable undoubtedly would be considered a dubious place in which to bring up children. So it would be here, of course, if one were at the mercy of its conflicting standards, desires, aims. But the point is that one is not. Conformity to a neighborhood in the old sense is not possible, for such a neighborhood isn't there. Common interests instead of geography determine whom we will know and what we will do—a modern extension of the old jubilation that

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providence picked out our relatives but left us free to choose our friends.

Considered in terms of family budgets perhaps this New York "simplicity" which I am trying to analyze comes out most clearly in that most berated of metropolitan items—rent. Middle-class New Yorkers are used to hearing their small-city cousins refer to their dwellings as hovels. Beyond any doubt we buy shelter, per unit of space and sunlight, at rates far higher than elsewhere. But that is not the whole story.

"Just look," said the suburban friend, waving her hand complacently about her pleasant living-room. "The rent of this whole nine-room house and yard and garage is about the same as that of your small apartment."

So it was in dollars, if one didn't count in the cost and labor of heating it, the greater amount of work and money to keep it in order, and the fact that to live there made an automobile a virtual necessity. What she did not consider was that that rent represented for her about a quarter of her family income, a proportion that I should have considered extravagant. Nor could she, living in that suburb, decide to spend less on rent and more on travel, for example, without losing social caste.

IN a study of the ways of professors and instructors at the University of California (Getting and Spending at the Professional Level: MacMillan) Dr. Jessica Peixotto speaks of the "house-proud" faculty: "This is an occupational group that will eat the plainest food and spend resignedly a total sum on clothing that underpaid clerks would rebel against, but as a class they will insist upon owning a home in a good neighborhood with at least six rooms and usually more." Yale, reporting on its faculty incomes and expenditures (Incomes and Living Costs of a University Faculty, by Yandell Henderson and Maurice R. Davis) found similarly that "Evidently the faculty are straining to live in better neighborhoods than they can well afford on their total income, and certainly more than they can afford on their salaries. They impose this standard of living on themselves or are forced to adopt it because of the social pressure exerted by the community, which places them in a higher social category than their incomes warrant."

I do not know of any similar studies of middle-class professional groups in New York City, but from the analogous individuals whom I happen to meet it would be my guess that, as in the case of my friend and myself, they are spending a lesser proportion of their income for rent than do these California and Yale professors (and admittedly getting less, dollar for dollar in certain respects) or at any rate—and this is the really significant thing—they have a chance to choose whether or not to spend money that way without bucking "social pressure."

So also an automobile. "Present custom," declares another report from the University of California, compiled under the Heller Committee for Research in Social Economics, "dictates including an automobile in the belongings of a family of this class." The class is that of families with an income of $6500 a year; the automobile assumed in their budget is priced at $1000, though it is added that $1800 is more likely to be its cost; and the items reported for its upkeep account for about 6 per cent of the family's total annual expenditure *without* including allowance for "the heavier costs of wear and tear," membership in an automobile club, or depreciation. Apparently, in the experience reported to this committee, a new automobile comes like manna from above or is bought out of the $30 a month left for savings in that $6500 income after habitual expenses are met. Yet, apparently, come it must! If to the reported costs of running a car is added a modest allowance of $250 a year for depreciation, let alone those heavier costs of wear and tear, the inevitable automobile would seem to account for 10 per cent of the family's income.

Now to any given family an automobile may be worth a tenth or a quarter or what you will of annual income, and what it is worth none but that family can determine. The point here is merely that if your community (and the community in question is one of educated, middle-class people with presumably a wide range of interests and desires and a not overdeveloped demand for material possessions); if your community, to repeat, sets you a standard of having this and doing that in relatively fixed proportions, living is likely to present a fairly complicated attempt to keep up with the Joneses when some special stress demands flexibility in your ways or if you happen to be the sort of person who prefers an occasional trip abroad to an orchid-tiled bathroom, sun parlor and breakfast nook.

Now it is in this flexibility that there lies, I believe, the "simplicity" of New York. Externally it is the more casual way of living adopted by and large in a place where everyone is busy, where space is crowded, where the soot sifts in so heavily that even the most devoted and untiring housewife could not keep up with the dusting of a country-style American house. Internally it is the freedom of the individual or the family to work out a way of life that seems to meet individual needs and desires, with a pretty sure chance that in so large a flock of birds others of the same feather will be found for company if one wishes it.

Flexibility has its drawbacks, of course, and there is some truth in the scornful warning of the perils of the big city that are preached in pulpits and at family conclaves from coast to coast. Anyone who has lived in Greenwich Village for a decade can observe the headstones, figuratively speaking, of bright young men and gay girls from the home towns who have succumbed to an overdose of "freedom." For them, alas, freedom has meant merely an escape from constraints bound so tightly that once loosed they left their victim too weak and uncertain to know what he wanted, anxious only to assert the fact that he could do as he pleased. A very big city has the liberating anonymity that tempts some stalwart citizens when they are in a foreign country. To such people Paris always will be "wicked" because that is the way they feel when they are there; but surely Paris or New York are less to blame in outbursts such as these than the way of life in the background which has stored up such a capacity for spontaneous combustion.

BUT this old and constantly-recurring story still does not take account of the thousands of middle-of-the-road people, like myself, who came to New York from somewhere else, and once here, just kept jogging along. In any young social group a native New Yorker is likely to be about as rare as a Fiji Islander. They come, at times they complain, and yet they stay. A few are lost to the suburbs, and sometimes even they come back, like a family I knew who moved out to find more space for their five children and then moved back to Gramercy Park, where they could lock the children in and be free (*Continued on page* 507)

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Drunkenness vs. Drink

The British Royal Commission on Licensing Reports

By J. J. MALLON

BEFORE the war the drink evil in England had been described in an official paper as "gigantic." Though the evil was diminishing the description was not inapt. The public houses (saloons) of London offered drink for sale for eighteen hours a day (Sundays excepted). Elsewhere the hours were less, but not much less. Beer and spirits were cheap and the public houses, especially at the week-end, were full and noisy. In most towns and cities Saturday night was an orgie. After long periods of tippling, crowds of fuddled drinkers behaved irresponsibly in the streets. Rowdyism followed and a crop of arrests. The effects of the carouse often survived the week-end and in many industries the resumption of work on Monday morning was incomplete.

On this state of affairs the effect of the War has been remarkable. At present the hours of sale of intoxicants are in London nine, and in the other places eight per day. Moreover intoxicants are dear—three, four and five times their pre-war price. While price is up, alcoholic strength is down. To get drunk has become comparatively costly and difficult. Through lessened opportunities of drinking and the increased costliness of drink and through other causes—the spread of education, an increased interest in athletics, more facilities for amusement and travel—England has undergone a striking social change, the most notable feature of which is the freedom of the younger generation from the drinking habit.

The measure of the improvement can be represented by a few figures. In 1913 the per capita consumption of beer was 27.76 gallons and the per capita consumption of spirits 0.70 gallons. The comparative figures for 1929 are 16.42 and 0.28 gallons. Thus the consumption of beer is reduced by more than a third and the consumption of spirits by much more than a half. The decline of insobriety appears to be even more notable. In 1913 persons convicted of drunkenness numbered 188,877. In 1929 in an enlarged population convictions had fallen to 51,966.

Significant as these figures are they seem to the social observer not adequately to represent the degree of improvement in the habits and behavior of the English cities. Drunkenness once painfully conspicuous is now seldom visible. Even the slums are quiet and orderly. In the time of cheap and heady drink the policeman's life indeed "was not a happy one." In our time he may enter without fear the most forbidding and ominous of our courts and alleys. The failure of the workman to resume employment on Monday morning is a thing of the past.

The warden of Toynbee Hall, first of the social settlements, was a member of the Royal Commission which reported in January. "The points are," writes Mr. Mallon, "that our drink problem is ceasing to be grave, that a state commission has approved public ownership, and that we may soon hope to be rid of our really nasty public halls and hard at work on the improvement of others."

It is now necessary to explain why in face of this gratifying social reformation the Labor Government should decide in 1929 to appoint a Royal Commission to carry through a comprehensive and elaborate enquiry into the liquor situation.

Much might be said under this heading but broadly the reasons for the action of the government may be stated to be two. On the one hand the government desired to stabilize the progress which had been made since the beginning of the War and, on the other hand, to obtain moral authority for a possible further advance. Let it be remembered that the liquor trade in England is in the hands of capitalists who are wealthy and able and influential and aggressive. These men have submitted to the imposition of the new restrictions on their trade mainly because, under the cover of the enhanced taxation of liquor they have been able, on a reduced sale of drink, appreciably to increase their profits. They have submitted to restriction without however accepting it. They might at any moment change their policy and, did they do so, might obtain in the post-war confusion of our politics a partial reversion to pre-war conditions. They might obtain the discontinuance of the profoundly interesting and promising adventure in state ownership to which in the area of Carlisle in the County of Cumberland the country was committed during the earlier part of the War.

LITTLE is known in America of this adventure and it may be well here to devote a few words to it. For reasons connected with the employment of vast numbers of men and women in the manufacture of munitions in the neighborhood of Carlisle, the government was forced to acquire the breweries, distilleries and public houses in and about that city. The success of state ownership was immediate and it has been emphasized in the post-war years. Under state ownership the less sanitary premises were demolished and the better premises improved. The supply of food became a feature of many public houses. The bartenders were enlisted with admirable results in the promotion of good order and behavior. Liquor is not advertised in Carlisle and the user of the public house is under no obligation to spend his money in it. Lastly the state has pocketed in Carlisle the profits which in other areas have gone to enrich already wealthy distillers and brewers.

Though still in its early stages the experience of public ownership in Carlisle has widened in Great Britain the conception of the public house: has enabled reformers to think of it as a place of general intercourse and refreshment, purged of the grosser characteristics of the sa-

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loon and the drink-shop. A favorable verdict from the Royal Commission would do much to ensure the continuation of public ownership in Carlisle and the development of its higher possibilities; it would do more: it would empower the government to extend the same principle to other areas the populations of which in different parts of Great Britain were beginning to ask for it. This is not all. Though reformers in Great Britain are glad to admit the substantial nature of the progress that has been made in regard to the consumption of intoxicants they are by no means satisfied with this progress. The consumption of drink is no doubt greatly reduced: it is still, however, excessive.

BEFORE the depreciation of sterling the annual national drink bill of Great Britain approached $1,500,000,000 and though nearly half this sum is represented by taxation the expenditure in a community stricken by unemployment and industrial catastrophe is grotesque and indefensible.

Beyond the question of the national expenditure on intoxicants are a multitude of other questions. England has too many public houses and many of them are not suitable for use as places of refreshment. But reform is not easy. The extinction of redundant licenses under British law involves in each case a payment out of a compensation fund provided by an annual charge levied upon all public houses. Thus the reduction of redundancy is limited by the amount of money available for the payment of compensation. As regards the improvement of public-house premises, finance is again the limiting factor. To deal with this latter point bluntly, the improved public house with its amenities and higher standards leads to lessened consumption of intoxicants and so to lessened profits. Why should brewing companies who own 95 per cent of the English public houses expend capital in improvements which will diminish their receipts? Again the relationship between these brewing companies and the occupants of their public houses—the license-holder—required examination. These are a few of the matters on which the Labor Government was anxious that a Royal Commission after adequate enquiry should pronounce a considered judgment and if possible clear the way for further progress.

The report of this Royal Commission after two years of taking evidence and discussion is at length available. The report deals with the issues which have been touched upon in this article and with many others. It may be said at once that in all essential respects the report will be acceptable to progressive opinion and will encourage reform. A majority of the commissioners express approval of the principle of public ownership of the liquor trade. Because of the financial position of the country they put aside proposals for the universal expropriation of the private owners but they recommend not only that the trade in the area of Carlisle should continue to be owned by the state but that the principle of state ownership should be extended to other suitable areas. This is the outstanding pronouncement of the report.

Next in importance is a recommendation for the appointment of five permanent commissioners through whom a national plan for reducing the number and improving the quality of public houses is to be operated. The plan is to be set in motion by the licensing justices who in conjunction with the permanent commissioners will decide upon the public houses which are to be extinguished in their areas and upon the structural and other alterations considered to be necessary in the surviving houses. To finance without delay the closing of the public houses deemed to be unnecessary, the compensation levy may be increased threefold and the justices may borrow upon the security of the income thus provided. The adoption of these proposals should mean the disappearance at an early date of thousands of the worst of British public houses. The question of financing public-house improvement is more difficult and there will be doubt as to whether the recommendations of the report are adequate or appropriate. But it is part of the recommendations that Parliament shall receive an annual statement on the liquor trade from the permanent commissioners.

Apart from an emphatic endorsement of the present reduced hours for the sale of drink, the other recommendations of the report are minor, though several, such as those conferring a measure of protection on the tenants of licensed houses owned by brewers, and those providing for the tightening up of the regulations for the establishment and supervision of clubs, are important.

American readers will note with interest the emphasis placed by the report upon the importance of specific education on the subject of alcohol. The report affirms that "Every child ought to receive specific and systematic instruction as to the properties of alcohol as in all other matters which may affect future health so that the child may at least be in the possession of sound material on which to form a personal judgment when years of discretion are reached." The report proposes not only that such systematic instruction should be given in schools of all types but that it should also be given, and thoroughly, in all teachers' training colleges.

It remains to add that apart from the wholehearted commendation of the existing hours of sale the report contains no merely prohibitory proposal and that the machinery of popular plebiscite is advocated only for use in the new housing areas and in these only for informative purposes. The experience of Scotland in which, after ten years of trial, local veto is admitted to be ineffective, has influenced the mind of the Commission. A deeper influence has been the disbelief general in Great Britain in the efficacy of the method of referendum in any of its forms.

NOW to sum up. The report of the Royal Commission on Licensing based upon an exhaustive enquiry occupying more than two years confirms the view that the drink evil in England is of diminishing seriousness. "Drunkenness," the report says, "has ceased to be fashionable and a drunken person is not now tolerated as he used to be." All the same the report holds that an evil still exists. It proposes to treat the evil through the moralization of the public house. As the easiest step towards this end it approves state or public ownership but finds that owing to the financial situation in England the general adoption of this remedy is not feasible. It proposes therefore a further experimental extension of public ownership and as regards the private owners the creation of a new authority which, in touch with the existing authorities, will rid the country at an early date of the public houses which are unnecessary or unfit for popular use. The new authority will by persuasion or pressure or publicity as the circumstances may seem to require, endeavor to bring about the improvement of the houses that remain. Specific teaching on the nature of alcohol will become part of education.

The program is not revolutionary or sensational but it meets the immediate needs of the situation in England. There is no doubt that the opinion of the public will approve it and that at an early date its proposals will engage the attention of Parliament.

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Very Dear Uncle Sam

By JOHN PALMER GAVIT

Drawings by the Author

HEARKEN, my dear, my *very* dear Uncle Sam. My own father died of the disease which now afflicts the world—chronic militarism. Listening over-credulously to the fearsome ghost-stories of his War Department, about the danger of invasion by enemies from somewhere, anywhere, his system devoted too much of its physical resources to Defense. Up to that time an uncommonly wholesome exhibit of prosperity as regards bodily health, offspring of a family on the whole long-lived; at the age of forty-four, when he should have been at the height of vigor and usefulness, at peace with all his environment, he suddenly set about the enlistment of soldiers, who, having to live off the country, so to speak, ate him out of house and home. He literally starved to death because they came to outnumber enormously the workers who had to support them, and soldiers and workers arrived at an end together.

Every physician will recognize the nature of the catastrophe—overproduction of the white corpuscles whose business it is to defend the body against infections. Useful as they are in due moderation, when they undertake to run the system and in so doing crowd out the red ones which supply the nourishment for both, the end is physical bankruptcy. That is what happened to my father. He died of Preparedness.

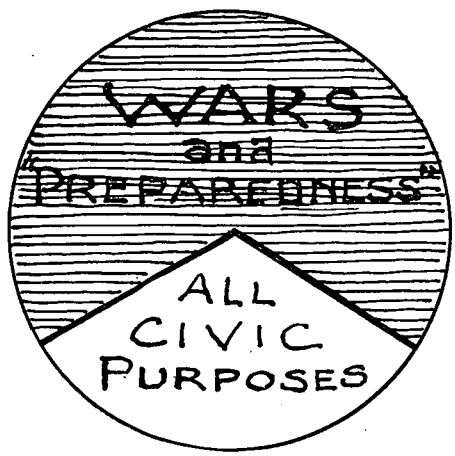
I am reminded of this calamity in my life—for it was nothing less to me and the rest of my family to whom he was all that the best of fathers could be—when I see the figures representing your expenditures on account of Wars, past and possible. When I see what is happening to my modest chippings-in toward your expenses for government. Sometimes I suspect that you aren't really watching what is done with them; or taking bad advice, or forgetting that only a little while ago you made solemn affidavit in the presence of God and all the neighbors that whatever happened you never again would make use of the weapons for which you still seem to be spending prodigious sums of money. Bad advice . . . can it be that you are leaving the keys of the Treasury in the hands of those old admirals and such who long ago were overdue at the Smithsonian Institution? Department of Archaeology. Prodigious sums of money . . . desperately needed for the purposes of normal life and the reconstruction of a world still in uproar because it was given over to folks of Pleistocene mentality—look what they did with it! Sometimes I suspect that you have forgotten that there are only one hundred cents in a dollar, and that if you spend it on war business you won't have it for the other things. Listen, Uncle Sam! You can't afford it. Just look, now, at a few figures and things, taken at random.

DAVID LAWRENCE, editor of The United States Daily, who knows the federal government as a whole perhaps better than any other individual because that is his hobby—he devotes almost every waking hour to the study of it—in a radio-talk the other day pointed out that during the fifteen years 1915-30 there was *an actual decline in the proportion of the national expenditure for non-military purposes,* "although it is customary for critics of the government to give the impression that we have been unduly increasing the civic side of the budget." At the same time a corresponding increase in the proportion spent on account of war:

> Since 1915 . . . the percentage of non-military expenditure has declined . . . today occupying only 30 per cent of our federal budget as against 40 per cent in 1915. It is our military, or protective expenditures that have increased, from 60 to 70 per cent. Out of a total federal budget of $4,000,000,000 we spend about $2,800,000,000 for direct and indirect military purposes—expenses of past wars and protection or insurance against future wars. . . . While military or protective functions have multiplied by six times our expenses since 1915, the non-military have increased by only four times.

And at that, the big new item in the non-military expense is attributable to prohibition, the charge described as "for law-enforcement" (with a big decrease of revenue from the liquor-tax to accentuate it): "It has gone from $4,000,000 in 1915" (says Mr. Lawrence) "to $45,000,000 in 1930." Without that new item, the civic expenditure would have been even less.

It is quite customary, as Mr. Lawrence intimates, for taxpayers to complain that their money is being wasted on this, that and the other extravagance, on "socialistic experiments." We cannot afford, they say, things like the Sheppard-Towner maternity law, old-age pensions, unemployment insurance, folderols in education, the Children's Bureau, highway extension, attempts to stabilize agriculture, and what-have-you else. Well, be that as it may, what we are spending or are importuned by the craziest social reformers to spend, bulks small compared with what we devote to the consequences of past wars and preparations for new ones. It makes it not better but worse because it is an exhibit of essential hypocrisy, that while we scatter these immense sums with one hand, we sign Kellogg Pacts with the other. Look, Uncle Sam, at what will happen to my dollar in your hands in this year of grace—approximately 70 cents of it for war and the consequences of war; see chart at left.



The tax-payer's dollar

Make all the excuses you like, Uncle Sam. Some of them no doubt will be pretty good ones—plausible anyway. but the fact will remain that you are spending vastly too much of my dollar and those of my neighbors on this business. No, it won't do at all to say that "all the rest are just as bad." They aren't, bad as they are. You are the worst. Mr. Hoover himself said it. Since 1913 you have almost trebled your expenditure on this account; you have *increased* 197 *per cent.* Your nearest rival is Japan,

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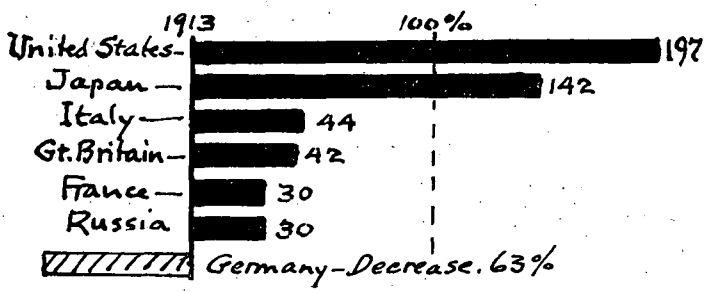
with an increase of 142 per cent. All the rest are far behind. Let me draw your attention to a publication, hot off the griddle, which sets forth brilliantly the state of affairs. Get yourself a copy, and see that copies go to Geneva, not only for the delegation to the General Disarmament Conference but extra ones for distribution to the other people. It is from the Foreign Policy Association, and entitled The Burden of Armaments.[1] It gives a table showing the national defense expenditure of the seven great powers respectively in 1913 and 1930, with percentage of increase or decrease, against the index for each country of wholesale prices. That index is germane because some allowance has to be made for increased costs—not that they matter much; in the United States the figure increased only 18 per cent, while the expenditure on war account increased 197 per cent. The table shows an average increase of approximately 37 per cent despite Germany's *decrease* of 63. Excluding Germany, the national defense expenditure of the other six powers was approximately 65 per cent over 1913. And it was the United States and Japan that chiefly lifted it. The figures speak for themselves:

	(In millions of dollars)		*Percentage of increase or decrease*	*Index of wholesale prices*: 1913 = 100
	1913	1930		
Great Britain..	375.1	535.0	+ 42	116
France	348.7	455.3	+ 30	105
Italy	179.1	258.9	+ 44	100
Japan	95.5	232.1	+142	131
Russia	447.7	579.4*	+ 30	185
United States.	**244.6**	**727.7**	**+197**	**118**
Total	1,690.7	2,788.4	+ 65	...
Germany	463.3	170.4	— 63	122
Total	2,154.0	2,958.8	+ 37	...

*1929.

It's pretty ghastly, Uncle Sam, when you come to think of it. You're spending on account of wars old and new all and more than is paid to you in income tax, including that paid through corporations. You received on that account in 1929, for instance, considerably over $2,330,000,000; you spent that year over $700,000,000 directly on army and navy—more than any other nation in the world. And figuring in pensions and all the rest of the old-wars account, you had to draw on your other receipts to pay somewhere around $2,800,000,000. Any way you figure it, it runs to approximately 70 per cent of all the dollars that you spend. In the little cartoon on page 492, I have been nice and friendly, and make it only 65. But it's that 197 per cent that bothers me. *Increase,* by a nation that says it isn't going to war any more! It's all right to pay the pensions, interest on loans, and so on, for what we used to do; but *what is all the new stuff for?* I ask you.

The increase, of 197 per cent—almost more than all the rest of the world put together. . . . I've sketched it out as it looks to the naked eye.



Percentage of increase of military expense since 1913

There are plenty of other figures in that F.P.A. document, abundantly supporting Lawrence's assertions. One more, showing the rate of increase in current military expense, omitting pensions, etc., in round millions of dollars:

Year	*Army*	*Navy*	*Total*
1913	—	—	244.6
1926-27	267.3	324.2	591.5
1927-28	293.2	332.2	625.4
1928-29	312.1	366.1	678.3
1929-30	327.3	375.4	702.8
1930-31	345.2	382.5	727.7

Comparisons with expenditures of other nations are treacherous, because the factors are in many cases differently calculated. The national budget of one government may contain costs which in another belong to local or provincial budgets. Moreover, governments are to say the least not exactly garrulous in disclosing their expenditures upon military preparedness and upkeep; therefore one must glean this information (as the F.P.A. for instance has obtained its statistics) from various sources. The results therefore can tally only approximately; but two things abide—one that they do agree approximately; the other that whatever their defects, the error certainly is on the side of understatement. The truth is worse than the figures. And certain general statements are sufficiently accurate for practical purposes. For example:

> Great Britain, on the basis of the budget estimates for the fiscal year 1930-31, applied approximately 13.8 per cent of its total budget to the upkeep of the army, navy and air forces, including ordinary pensions. The French budget for 1930-31 applies 21.9 per cent of its total expenditure to the three military branches *not* including pensions. The United States, on the basis of appropriations for the same fiscal year, devoted approximately 16.5 per cent of its total budget to the army and navy.

All comparisons with pre-war years must be weighted heavily for the immense accretions not only of war-pensions and other payments to and on account of veterans, but of interest and sinking-fund charges upon the staggering national debts attributable exclusively to the World War. The public debt charges of the United States have increased more than 1700 per cent since 1911; pensions and veteran relief have increased 535 per cent.

But leaving the pre-war comparisons entirely out of account, the conspicuous feature of the situation in which the United States is one of the chief sinners has relatively little to do with the direct financial burden left by the World War:

> The national defense expenditures of the great powers are not only greater today than in 1913, *but have increased sharply during the past five years.* . . . An increase of 30 per cent during the five-year period. During this period, moreover, the average level of prices in all countries declined. [Therefore the increase is relatively greater than the figures indicate.]
>
> The only government to show a reduction in defense expenditures is Great Britain. . . . Defense expenditures in France were virtually doubled. In the United States, defense expenditures increased from $591,000,000 in 1926-27 to approximately $727,000,000 in 1931. [About 40 per cent.]

When you come to figure the *per capita* rate of this expenditure on armament and other forms of "preparedness," again the comparisons are on a boggy foundation because of differences in included expenses—river and harbor improvements, for example. So let us confine ourselves on that point to our own looking-glass. Suffice it to say that upon our own current defense expenditures in 1929-30 we paid out somewhere between $6 and $7 a head for every man, woman and child counted in the census. And that's a whale of a lot of money to be spending on things that we have solemnly pledged ourselves not to use!

YOU can't afford it, Uncle Sam, from *any* point of view. Certainly not with reference to your pocket-book and my dollar—even if I am so lucky as to have a job or an income from any other source. During the past twenty years, under the importunities and advice of those in and out of government departments—admirals, generals, Navy Leagues, veterans, farmers, and whatnot other optimists—who want only what they want when they want it and don't care what happens so

[1] Foreign Policy Reports, vol. VII, No. 20, December 9, 1931. Foreign Policy Association, 18 East 41 Street, New York City. Price, 25 cents.

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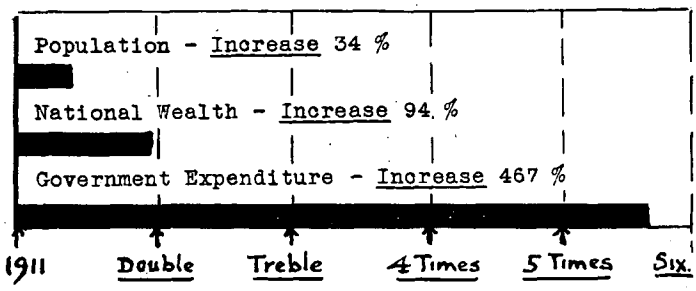
long as it doesn't happen to *them,* you have been spending like a drunken sailor, with little or no reference to your resources, actual or potential. To be specific, during those twenty years, 1911-31, your population, your man-power, has increased a little more than a third; your national wealth, owing chiefly to—and despite—more prolific methods of production, has not quite doubled. But *your federal government expenditures have multiplied by nearly six!* Since you don't seem to be very attentive to figures, I'll make you a picture of it:



Percentage of increase, twenty years 1911-31

If you were the general manager of an ordinary business, and brought me a showing like that, I'd fire you, and put the enterprise in the hands of a receiver. God help the creditors . . . let's not mention the stockholders. Fortunately for you, you have unlimited power to assess the stockholders. I am the goat for all this, in the last analysis; but let me remind you, Uncle Sam, that the bottom of your treasury and the bottom of mine strangely coincide. There is a limit to *me,* and I can see it, even if you can't.

We can't afford it. Certainly not from the point of view of business sense. We are now the world's chief creditor. Are we meaning to *frighten* our debtors into that restored friendliness, courage, confidence and stability without which we cannot hope for a dollar? Offhand it looks as if we intended to collect the debts at the muzzles of guns. Nothing in it—France sufficiently demonstrated that when she invaded the Ruhr and precipitated the collapse of Germany. We are suffering greatly now from the restriction of the world market for our products, and desperately need to widen it. Having done all we could to shut off absolutely the vast Russian market; having by our notoriously excessive tariff done our best not only to set a bad example for the whole world but to obstruct the only means by which our customers can pay for what we desire to sell them . . . what next? Are we planning also to shoot our customers? What has become of our "American sense of humor"?

I DO not find myself quite so glib as some of my scribacious confreres, about what has been happening in Manchuria. I frankly confess that I do not know what, if anything, ought to be done about it. Hot demands that all the righteous nations should forthwith cease diplomatic relations with Japan strike me as cheap irresponsible yawp; leave me cold, if only because I cannot offhand name the great power, expressly including the United States of America, which would not use force, which has not in fact used force, to protect its nationals and its property and commercial interests in other countries whose prevailing conditions imperilled them—even when the allegations of such conditions were largely hypocritical. Certainly such conditions have prevailed increasingly in Manchuria, and in many parts of China proper; because the present so-called government of China cannot control the operations of the innumerable local and provincial chieftains, most of them little better than brigands—to say nothing of the hordes of "irregulars" who prey upon the population, natives and scattered foreigners alike. There are at present in fact several Chinese "governments," none of them with power beyond the sound of its own voice, and they do not pull together to any substantial effect.

And as for Japan—everything depends upon what you mean by "Japan." My good friend Dr. Nitobe, one of the finest men the sun ever shone on, may say what he likes about the mind and intentions of his country; the Japan that he represents and talks about has at present no real existence, so far as the rest of the world can see. We have an exhibit of impeccable assurances given by a wholly well-intending civil government, and the lie given to them by an army in the field; whereupon the civil government fell, and an essentially chauvinistic and barbaric outfit replaced it. The military steam-roller, its lesson learned from "western civilization" which respects force only, has rolled on without missing a stroke. In Japan the white corpuscles are out of control.

I am reminded of the little girl, terrified by a barking dog. Someone intending reassurance called her attention to the fact that the dog was wagging his tail. "Yes, I see his tail," she sobbed, "but *I don't know which end of him to believe!*"

That's how it is, Uncle Sam. The world doesn't know which end of us to believe—the end that signs the Kellogg Pact, or the end that proposes to spend $600,000,000 more on warships.

DISARMAMENT is a moral rather than a financial question. Despite all I have said above, I am not excited primarily about the money cost of preparedness. If we are going to war—and if not, all this dressing up with no place to go is crazy, criminal waste—it will cost us many billions more; let's go to it and do it thoroughly while we are about it. No other country can keep up with us, and we can lead the way to world ruin. But if we intend peace, as we constantly protest, let us face the fact that peace is a state of mind, and has become an affair of all humanity. Its implications are revolutionary. Clemenceau with sardonic humor put his fingers upon the exact spot. Lincoln Steffens in his immortal autobiography (which ought to be compulsory reading, not only in every school of journalism and every newspaper office but in every American home) tells the story of the French Tiger's challenge to President Wilson and the premiers, gathered in Paris:

> We can make this a permanent peace; we can remove all the causes of war and set up no new causes of war. It is very important what you say, what you have so long been saying, Mr. President. We have now the opportunity to make a peace that shall last forever. . . . And you are sure you propose to seize this opportunity? . . . We must give up our empires, and all hope of empire. You, Mr. Lloyd-George, you English, will have to come out of India, for example; we French shall have to come out of North Africa; and you Americans, Mr. President, you must get out of the Philippines and Porto Rico and leave Cuba alone and—Mexico.
>
> Oh, we can all go to them and other countries, but as tourists, traders, travelers; we cannot any more govern them or exploit or have the inside track of them. We cannot possess the keys to trade routes and spheres of influence. And, yes, we shall have to tear down our tariff walls and open the whole world to free trade and traffic. Those are some of the costs of permanent peace; there are the sacrifices we, the dominant powers would have to make. It is very expensive, peace. We French are willing, but are you willing, to pay the price, all the costs of no more war in the world?

They could not bear it—the price of peace. Not even Mr. Wilson, for all that he was author of the famous Fourteen Points, in which that price was implicit, dared to recognize the day of visitation. "We don't want war," says Steffens, pointing the inevitable moral; "nobody in the world wants war; but some of us do want the things we can't have without war. . . . We will not give up the things that cause wars." If the best we can do is a horizontal cut in the number of guns, battleships and soldiers, it may save some money, doubtless a great deal of money; but it will hardly be worth the trouble. The underlying provocations will remain untouched, and we shall be little better off. This is what gives so great importance to the survey by Frank H. Simonds[1] of the present

[1] Can Europe Keep the Peace? by Frank H. Simonds. Harper. 360 pp. Price $3 postpaid of Survey Graphic.

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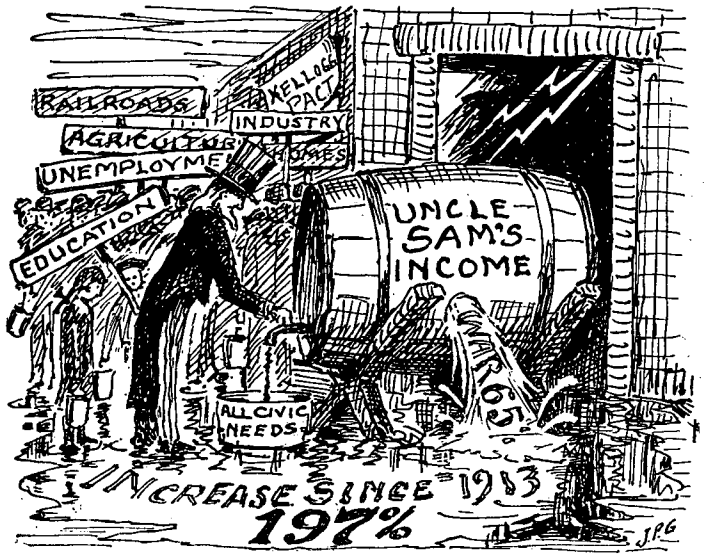


state of Europe. While his score as a prophet and social philosopher is not impressive, Simonds is one of the best reporters in the world, and I know of no book about post-war conditions more informing than this one. He makes very clear why Europe can *not* keep the peace alone; that you cannot have war in Europe and Asia and peace on the American continent. He describes the situation in words of one syllable, so to speak, within the comprehension of a child of six. Outstanding things, at random:

The Paris Conference failed to provide Europe with a viable system of peace and an adequate foundation of prosperity primarily because of the impossibility of reconciling the ethnic and economic circumstances of the continent with the principle of self-determination. . . . The inextricable intermingling of races made it inevitable that the rights of certain peoples should be subordinated. . . . The peoples whose frontiers had been mutilated and provinces partitioned now demanded the revision of the peace treaties, while those who had attained liberty, unity or security insisted upon the preservation of the status quo. . . . These three prescriptions, peace without responsibility [the United States] peace with security [France and her allies of the Little Entente, and Poland] and peace with revision [Germany and her allies] are irreconcilable. . . . As long as countries stick to their national conceptions, only deadlock can result.

There is nothing to suggest that the democracies of modern Europe are more capable of united action in the face of a common danger than were those of Ancient Greece in the presence of a common enemy.

In the light of such illuminating comment as this, consider our own relation with these things. The League of Nations, in the long run the only worth while result of the World War, went off at half-cock, to be sure, in the Manchurian business, serving upon Japan a notice, a command, a threat, which as everybody knew would not, could not, be made good. Yet Japan was scared; even its reactionary military authorities paused. Why? Because Japan was afraid of the United States; not of any military action, but of the moral force that would be arrayed against her if the United States should really stand up with the League. Did you notice that the Japanese government took the trouble to issue from its embassy in Washington an explanation and appeal to the American people?

For the weakness and insufficiency of the League of Nations we are largely if not wholly responsible. With the backing of the United States, whether or not as a member, the League is, or would be, an irresistible moral force in the world. Even without that backing its achievements have been amazing, because it represents the torment of the world's conscience about the things that make for war. And there is another aspect of the situation to which Simonds draws attention:

The tragedy disclosed in the spectacle of democracies engaged in the deliberate sabotage of the single instrument of international coöperation in existence, too, is unmistakable. Nor is it lessened by the obvious fact that the League of Nations is the only answer Democracy has yet discovered to the ever-present challenge of Red internationalism. And, if Geneva ultimately fail, all the profit will be with Moscow.

We did not "win the war," with all our tremendous contribution. We ran out on it, leaving our allies, not to mention the others, to stew in their own juice. The war is still in process, but as James Truslow Adams says in his Epic of America,

Faced by the responsibilities of a moral leadership in the world such as had never before come to any nation, America backed out of the room frightened and stammering. . . . It was like hearing the squeak of a timid field mouse after the thunder of battle had rolled away.

THESE white corpuscles of ours, soldiers and naval officers, are well-intending folk. They really believe what they say. Nothing of religious fervor could surpass the earnestness with which General Leonard Wood, then chief of staff of the United States Army, pleaded with me to use my supposed influence as head of the Washington office of the Associated Press, to awaken the people of this country to the necessity of preparing for war.

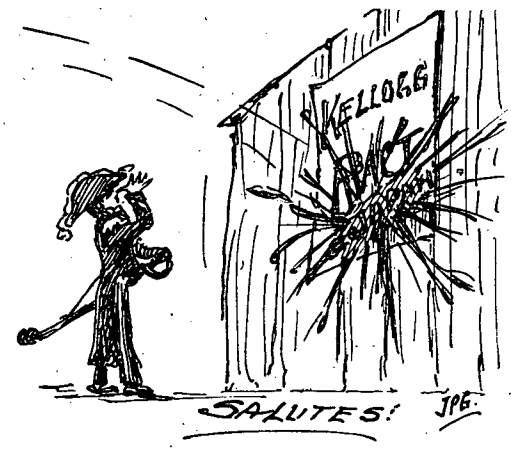
"If I had my way," said he, "I would out-German Germany!"

I never had the opportunity to call his attention to the price that Germany paid, is paying, and for long will continue to pay, for that preparedness which he so fervently coveted for his country and mine.

For the first time we have sent to a disarmament conference a delegation not frankly charged with reactionary spirit. Hitherto our representation has been dominated by military and naval officers with their tongues in their cheeks, having not the slightest sympathy with disarmament of any kind or degree. Returning from Geneva in 1927 Admiral Hilary P. Jones of our own navy, whose influence in that conference was —what it might have been expected to be—was quoted as saying:

I do not believe that any tangible results will be attained by these limitation-of-arms parleys. When the pacifists start clamoring for disarmament to prevent war, the manufacturers of arms immediately begin to receive large orders and make a lot of money. No government will scrap good material in the future, whether it is warships or guns.

At least the present delegation goes in a more affirmative spirit. General Dawes, resigning ambassador of the United States to Great Britain, knows his Europe and has had part in constructive and healing measures; Norman H. Davis hardly could have been improved upon; President Woolley of Mount Holyoke College has both vision and common-sense. Anyhow, subject to its ultimate control by Washington, the delegation represents something beside the war-business. It is well. The white corpuscles are good servants, but bad masters.



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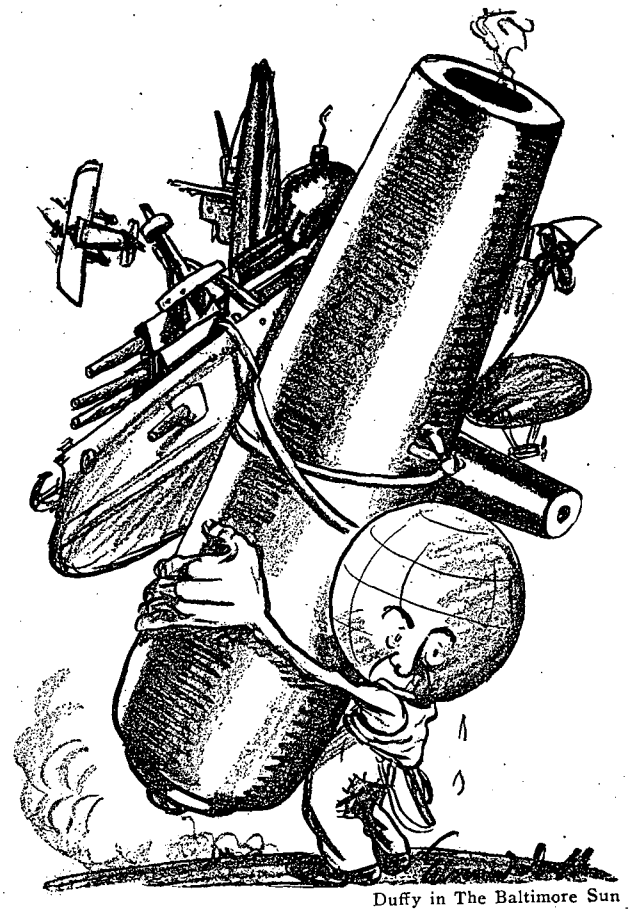
OUNCES OF PREVENTION

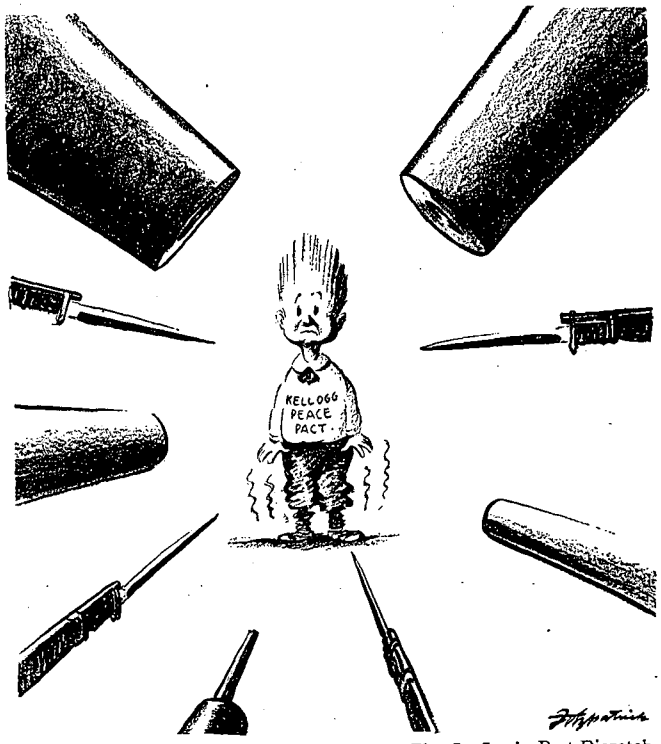
National Council for Prevention of War

Machine Massacre



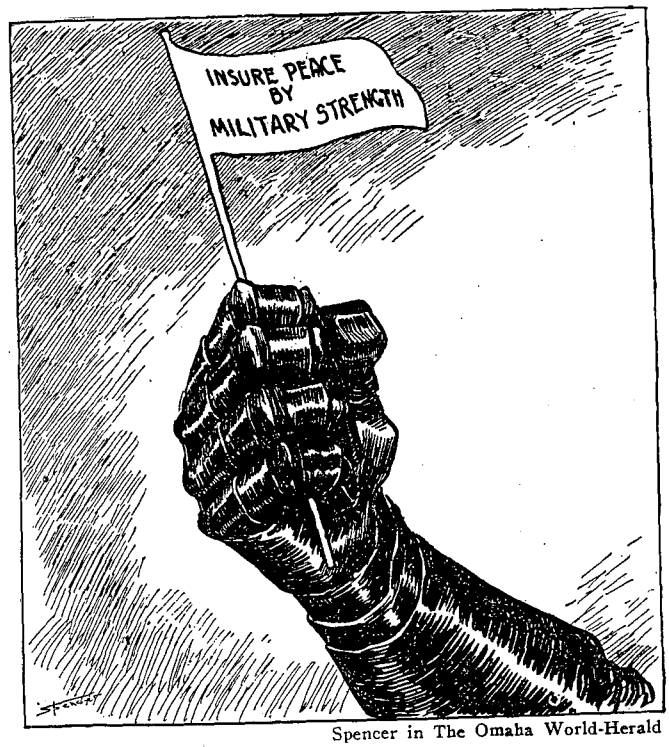
Duffy in The Baltimore Sun

Now to Get Rid of Some of This Stuff



Fitzpatrick in The St. Louis Post-Dispatch

Three Years Old



Spencer in The Omaha World-Herald

The Great Failure of the Ages

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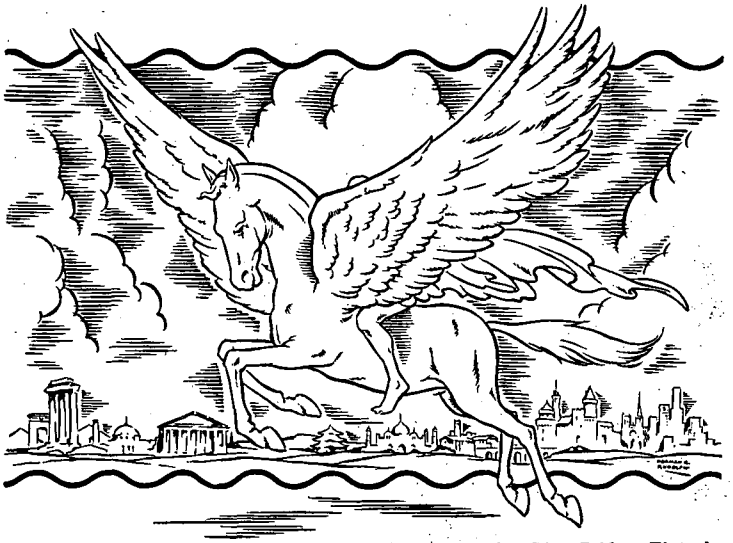

End papers for The Golden Thread

Letters & Life

Edited by LEON WHIPPLE

Airway for Pegasus

Visibility Poor, Ceiling Limited.—Flying Forecast

THE OUTLOOK FOR LITERATURE, *by Ashley H. Thorndike. Macmillan. 200 pp. Price $1.50 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

THE GOLDEN THREAD, *by Philo M. Buck, Jr. Macmillan. 552 pp. Price $4 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

AMERICAN WRITERS ON AMERICAN LITERATURE, *edited by John Macy. Liveright. 539 pp. Price $5 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

THE LITERARY MIND, *by Max Eastman. Scribner. 343 pp. Price $2.50 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

SUCH is the weather along all the airways of man's spirit. The outlook for flight is not happy. What then will happen to Pegasus, that winged horse of literature? The question is urgent: the outlook for literature—whether guide-star or mirror—is the outlook for mankind. Wisely the doctors and critics are searching the heavens for signs of clearing. Do these augurs foretell that proud Pegasus will be broken to haul carts of fact and popular entertainment to enrich the fields of democracy? Or the coming of new audacious riders to drive through the blinding clouds and find the stars again?

The perfect democrat is Thorndike and full of optimism about all the uses of print. "If we are to make a new world we must make a new literature," he declares and so welcomes everything. But the literature he foresees is not in the great tradition, but rather the utilitarian instrument of journalism and recreation. We shall have a vast new audience of many various segments and with greater influence, including the teeming millions of the Orient. For as our civilization triumphs in the East so will our culture. Thus literature will become the interpreter of nations to each other; great authors have always sought to reveal man to man, breaking down provincial ignorance and arrogant nationalism. Tagore and Maurois are international ambassadors; and so are women and humor because their inner wisdom transcends race.

We shall have more writers and more division of labor among writers. Guilds and schools for writers and professional organization will give skill and a basis for freedom. These conscious craftsmen will be of a superior excellence to the artless singers of the people—and the genius or prophet will as always paddle his own canoe! The teaching of literature, the very language, will aid this beneficent aspersion of sweetness and light. The gifts and patterns of the innovators like Joyce, praiseworthy for his labor and aspiration, will be absorbed into the great tradition, which will follow the flag and the tractor as they rumble into Russia and the East.

Where this literature of service is to gain increments of wisdom and beauty is not precisely clear. Of poetry Thorndike says: "In our age men desire a great poet as they do a great religious leader." Yet later: "It is absurd to expect that the most creative or most stirring writers will be versifiers." For prose is less artificial and more variable and so useful for the "long composite appeals to intellect and emotion our complex world demands." Poetry, however, has a proud past and our present experimenters prove that it is still vital. It may still serve many useful and popular ends, say for wit, for aphorisms, and for eulogy.

We shall have more fiction for it is one of our chief recreations: and also one of the valuable instruments of propaganda. Fables will mold our manners and morals. It is popular because its time pattern is easily comprehensible and allows the presentation of personality in progress. Its nobler duties are not stressed.

This book does, I suppose, chart the probable tendencies for writing and reading these next decades. Our precarious situation will demand much study of current life, propaganda, and recreation by escape. The final change of Scribner's Magazine from a literary metier to the reviewing of social phenomena is a sign of the times. Belles lettres gives way to controversy. There *is* a loss, my masters! We have enough intellectual reviews: are there not fifty thousand readers in these United States to support a *literary* magazine wherein the play-spirit, fantasy, humor and beauty might delight the hungry dreamer? Is recreation to be turned over to the Ballyhoos of sex and cynicism that grow like fungi from our present spiritual depression?

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Thorndike describes the journalism of democracy and not literature in the great tradition. His hopes are hemmed in on one side by science with its utility and its splendors so that he declares: "We are rather more successful in intricacy and grandeur and beauty of design with our bridges, our automobiles, our giant cranes . . . than with our poems and essays and orations." And on the other by journalism, for "the modern man is distinguished from his predecessor by his extensive and immediate knowledge of the present. . . . The newspaper reflects our inordinate interest in the present." The charms and duties of this world right now leave little interest for the timeless and other-worldliness. Yet the great tradition in literature has ever been concerned with the timeless and other-worldly and so with the meaning and value of man.

TO trace this golden thread of literature as a revelation of man to himself is Philo Buck's high design. For him literature is no picnic or circus for entertainment but a romance of beauty and seeking that has made humanity what it is. With dignity and insight he illumines this tapestry and its weaving from Homer and the Greek tragic authors through Virgil, the Bible and Koran, Dante and Cervantes, Shakespeare and Milton, to Goethe and the unresolved suspension of modern life between science and humanism. Here is criticism lifted above quarrels and modes, composed with reverence, panoramic scope, and a deep sense of history. The reader is left serene and hopeful, proud of this valorous and searching race.

Goethe was not the end of the great tradition, but he posed a problem that we have not answered; for he first included science as part of life, and sought the union of man and nature moving toward an infinite perfection whose essence is neither matter nor spirit but both. The strength for this synthesis has not yet been revealed, but Buck believes the time seems ripening for some new large effort to define values. The past century was one of experiments that failed, and disillusionment. Poetry is down at the heels; it is the day of the journalist, but with no Montaigne, and the end is not yet. The great disillusionment was science itself: it promised a new paradise, but gave us a depressing mechanic-man ruled by mathematical formulae. After Zola we tried literature as the handmaid to enlightened sociology and found the humanist was right in questioning uplift by legislation. The democracy of Walt Whitman just does not exist even in Russia. The reduction of human conduct to the record of psychological pressures by a new school of novelists denies the very soul of the great tradition—the right of man to judge whether a thing be good or evil. The hundred years is a story of gradual bewilderment after childish faith. But the new science grows modest in its claim to reveal ultimate reality so we may have hopes for a reconciliation that will use its gifts of observation, tolerance and verified truth in a literature that will, as in the great tradition, seek to vindicate man's moral nature and the intelligibility of his fate.

THE thirty-seven essays John Macy has gathered to cover the aspects and authors of American letters from Colonial historians to modern poets reveal the confusion Buck describes. There has been no great tradition in our literature; indeed, our authors worked in compartments so in a sense these thirty-seven viewpoints reflect the reality. The appraisals are honest, often illuminating, sometimes merely personal. The interest of the symposium lies in seeing what Louis Bromfield makes of Hawthorne, Gilbert Seldes of Thoreau, Robert Herrick of Henry James, et cetera. Chapters on Indian, Negro and Yiddish contributions open vistas. But what we really need is more seeking for our golden, or copper thread, in the vein of Parrington and Lewis Mumford.

MAX EASTMAN boldy confronts the dilemma, Science vs. Literature, and apparently comes out with literature as a division of the *science* of psychology. The scholar-gentleman, whether humanist or ultra-modernist, is waging a losing fight to preserve the right of literature to proclaim "the higher truth." There is no such higher truth, only the truth of verified observation in science. The scholar seeks to defend the cult of literature because therein he finds a status and often an economic reward. He is talking through his hat.

Eastman hates any talking through the hat, and so offers two grand chapters that quite justify the book, in defense of language as being after all a means of communication. If you have ever been humbled or bored by the modern stuff that seems sheer nonsense, you will shout "Amen" to his uproarious damnation of the cult of unintelligibility and the poets who talk to themselves. They are, he believes, either childish or mad: and in net effect decrease the range, volume and definiteness of communication. Pure poetry is priceless, and Eastman tried to define that, but impure grammar and punctuation are devilish.

I ever find Max Eastman's heart a better guide than his head. He is a poet and defiantly proclaims poetry to be the essence of literature. His science is that of the amateur who claims far more than any professional ever would. He overlooks the fact that science seems busily engaged in enlarging our ignorance and so widening the field for literature which, as he says, has a perfect right to make guesses about the unknown. The biologic-psychologic esthetics he proposes seems but the intricate intellectual pastime of the scholar-scientist. It does not add to our enjoyment of literature though he declares that should be the purpose of the teacher of letters.

In the end he seeks by instinct to protect poetry against science. The latter offers us ways of conceiving phenomena under general concepts that give us great power in practical action. But poetry alone can communicate the qualities of experience. It gives us an immediate heightened consciousness of essences. Science promotes life, but poetry reveals the joy of being alive. Is this not the restoration of literature to her throne?

Indeed, is this not the hope for the century beyond the decade? If from our travail, we come out with science and society married to offer men plenty, leisure, peace of mind and freedom, literature will have the true renaissance. There will be time for beauty, pure poetry, humor, the adventure of experiencing reality. The great tradition again will tell us how to live, not make a living. That will be a great day for poetry! The visibility is indeed poor, but the ceiling is unlimited.

LEON WHIPPLE

The Showing Up of B. Shaw

BERNARD SHAW, *by Frank Harris. Simon & Schuster.* 430 *pp. Price* $4 *postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

"I CAN imagine nothing more ghastly than a literary shepherd's pie of Shaw and Harris horribly messed up together," said Mr. Shaw to Mr. Harris in a letter of 18th September, 1930. But on November 3rd, he had changed his mind. "I give you a free hand with these letters. . . . I will see you through with plenty to quote." And the literary shepherd's pie is what we have, one of the most tasty and exciting served up in a long, long while. Shaw insists that it is an "unauthorized" biography. Yet he has read the proofs, and appended a postcript of his own. A noble experiment—and dangerous.

The book is a mine of source material—not so much for prosaic fact as for attitudes and controversies. Shaw corrects, in his letters to Harris, many erroneous statements that have been made about his life. And he answers Harris's questions; Harris then corrects Shaw, interprets the answers, and anybody is provided with a good hatfull of debates. (*Cont. on page* 498)

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(*Continued from page* 497)

The book will give you a very good time; it is as entertaining as good theater, and Harris is a fine showman. But he is more than that. He is often very keen, if not always sound, in judgment. And, though a very sincere friend of Shaw's, he is undoubtedly his sternest, most brilliant, most antagonistic, though not malicious critic. His intelligent, witty examination of Shaw's plays is done under a hard, white light.

"On re-examining Shaw's forty-odd volumes," says Harris, "I find only one consistently persistent idea throughout all his works and life, and that is improvement. However contradictory his writings, views and opinions, he always wanted things to be better than they were. Never mind that he was a scoffer and religious at the same time; an atheist and a pew-renter, a socialistic supporter of war, a peace-loving Fabian favoring a strong army, a libertarian eulogizing Mussolini, a zealous champion of State control fighting a Government censor, a believer in freedom advocating compulsory equalization of incomes, a zealot of 'the true joy of life' scoffing at love and sex, and a man of many other parts like a crazy quilt."

"He will not live. . . . Shaw has been a hard worker, but all his plays lack the something that stamps greatness. . . . But as a personality Shaw will live long, . . . as have Dr. Johnson and Samuel Pepys, two men in English literature whose personalities also were bigger than their works. . . . I only wish he had gone to jail at least once for some big idea. It would have been something to bring before the court of heaven when asking for his immortal soul." These disconnected sentences can only give the odor of the stew, and not its good meat and vegetables. But the temptation to quote is not to be denied.

"All he had was a clear eye for seeing what the trouble was. He didn't kill, nor was he killed by it. All he did was to spit putty balls at it from his ivory tower and laugh. . . . As an advocate of various causes and reforms he has been an absolute failure. . . . In philosophy he has given us no new or vital truth; no new word in religion, no glimpse even of any great human vision. He is neither a philosopher nor a scientist; neither passionate prophet nor self-sacrificing martyr."

Difference in temperament, experience that separates rather than unites, a hundred different elements, provide the divergences in points of view that the reader meets in this extraordinary biography. Harris makes his points; Shaw makes his. The reader can agree or disagree. It is far more human than biographies, or indeed, most books, are apt to be; human in its quarreling, its surprising pettinesses and greatness of spirit, its gusto and warmth. If, as Harris thinks, Shaw is to survive only as a personality, it is not absurd to consider this book the most important yet written. COLEY TAYLOR

Women May Win

PERHAPS WOMEN, *by Sherwood Anderson. Horace Liveright.* 144 *pp. Price* $2 *postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

MODERN man cannot escape the machine. He has lost the power to escape. He has accepted the power given him by the machine and has substituted it for his own. He is like a man who has ridden street cars for twenty years and is called upon to run a Marathon.

Now is the time for women to come into power in the western world, to take over the control of life. She remains untouched by the machine. Because of her sex, because of her nearness to the nature of life, because she is a being with a hidden inner life, she remains untouched. Power she has always bent to her. Hers cannot be vitiated by the machine. Machines cannot bear children. In terms of things that he does, that he produces, man frequently fails. The machine never fails. It rules in industry.

The world is for women. The cities are built for them, newspapers are run for them, automobiles are made for them. But woman in America is not superior to man. Present-day life humiliates man more directly. More has been taken from him. His strength has been usurped, he has been rendered impotent. He is losing consciousness of his masculinity.

Women want lovers. But they are practical. They will take goods instead. They want masculinity, but not men who feel

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defeated and crushed by life, who cannot stand naked before the efficiency of the machine. Perhaps from women shall come the revolt, the domination of the machine. Perhaps a matriarchy.

Sherwood Anderson has gone into the factories, has observed the machine in operation, doing things easily, powerfully, delicately—never failing to do what it sets out to do. He has seen men in these factories, operating machines, becoming adjuncts to the machines; regimented and disciplined; dimly conscious and resentful of their impotency. Women may enter the factories, may become machine operators. It may tire them physically but it cannot paralyze or make impotent their spirits.

There is something intensely deep-flowing in this book. Perhaps it is the stirring of one's beaten resentment of mechanical domination, a neurotic revulsion against the whir, the precision and maddening efficiency of the machine. Perhaps it arouses sudden angry contempt for the imbecilic impotency of man, who permits himself to be destroyed by the thing of his creation. Perhaps it is because the whole story of labor in modern industry is one of idle hands and neurasthenia.

The book is a sketch, a series of impressions, opinions and observations, presented partly in story form, much without form, and some attempt at broken verse, often redundant. At all other times he is lucid, has a pleasant trick of word and sentence combination which forms colorful frames for his thoughts.

He writes: "I put it [Perhaps Women] out hoping that it may arouse thought and discussion. I hope also it may arouse a real fear and perhaps respect for the machine, both in men and women. . . . At least if it arouses fear in women something intelligent may be done to save man from the machine before his potence, his ability to save himself, is quite gone."

Cincinnati, Ohio JOHN C. NELSON

The Bible in Our Tongue

THE BIBLE, *An American Translation. Edited by J. M. Powis Smith and Edgar J. Goodspeed. University of Chicago Press.* 2037 *pp. Price* $3.50 *postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

THIS work appeared first in sections, and at high prices. Goodspeed's translation of the New Testament is already familiar to many thousands of progressive Bible readers. The Old Testament, because of its greater length and its higher price, is much less familiar; but now that both major sections of the Bible are here combined in one volume, and at so reasonable a cost, there will be many more thousands who make it their favorite version. For the Bible is a book to be read and understood and enjoyed. Today, far from showing any signs of waning popularity, the Bible continues to be the most popular volume in print, outselling all others and counting its annual sales well up in the millions of copies.

This public appreciation and interest is kept alive almost entirely by the fact that the Bible has been translated again and again, into languages familiar to all. The justification for a new translation lies in the fact that language is a living, growing thing, constantly changing to express new forms of thought, new conditions of life, new hopes and aims. Old words die and leave the language. New words are born. Slang terms become dignified and respectable. Words change their meanings until their originators can no longer recognize them. So, for these reasons and others, new translations are necessary. We cannot—to use the phrase of one dear old soul—"leave the Bible just the way God wrote it, back in the days of King James."

This particular version is an attempt at a distinctly American translation, in idiom, and phraseology. The translators have done a wonderfully fine work, and will amply deserve the credit which is sure to come to them.

The Old Testament, hoary with age before there was any New Testament, had already attained, before the Christian Era, a dignity and loftiness of style which the New Testament will probably never attain. The translators have done well to try to preserve much of that dignity and loftiness. The New Testament, on the other hand, was not written by scholars, but by laborers and ex-slaves; and they spoke the language of the street, the marketplace, the arena. It would hardly be too much to say that parts of (*Continued on page* 500)

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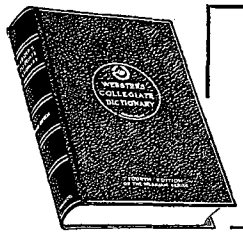

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(*Continued from page* 499) the New Testament were written in slang. The translators, in this version, have kept this distinction clear between the two Testaments. One reads "talents" and "shekels" in the Old, but "dollars" and "cents" in the New.

It is difficult, and perhaps impudent, to offer adverse criticisms. Here and there the translators have failed to find genuine American idiom to match the idiom of the originals. In such cases, their translation smacks of the English, rather than of the American. And the two tongues are no more identical than are the two cultures—or where is the justification for an American translation? However, even this criticism is given with hesitation and reluctance, with the knowledge that the translators were deliberately trying to stick as closely as possible to the dignified and lofty style of the King James version.

At any rate, such criticisms as the public may offer to a majestic and monumental work such as this, are offered with the knowledge that this is the best version available for the American reader. Its ideas are clear and familiar. Its set-up and type are a thing of beauty and a joy forever. Its avoidance of the archaic chapter and verse divisions, and its use of new and accurate headings and divisions, are an unmixed delight. It presents the hope that the Bible may once more come to be a familiar volume in American week-day hands, as it should be.

CHARLES STAFFORD BROWN

Colorado Springs, Colo.

BOOKSHELF

Books may be obtained at the prices given, postpaid of Survey Graphic

MATTHIAS AT THE DOOR, *by Edwin Arlington Robinson. Macmillan. 99 pp. Price* $1.75

THIS poem gives, compressed in a terse, simple, rapidly paced blank verse, the climax of the relations of three men and one woman to each other. Three of them die that one may live to be born again. A rich and moving tale.

AN EDITOR LOOKS AT RUSSIA, *by Ray Long. Long and Smith. 114 pp. Price* $1

UNPRETENTIOUS, this brief survey is extremely well done. Among the numerous effusions of American visitors, which display cocksure temerity rather than understanding, Mr. Long's frankly impressionistic account is a relief. He observed during his brief Russian sojourn many things of import, and he overlooks the obviously striking yet unessential features of a country in transition. Though he is modest enough, and wise, not to rush to conclusions, Mr. Long has the vision to gauge the significance of the Russian experiment both for contemporary capitalistic states and for future generations. A pleasant, portable, informative little book.

THE FRANCISCAN ADVENTURE, *by Vida D. Scudder. Dutton. 432 pp. Price* $5

THIS book of Miss Scudder's will not be a best seller. It is too reverent in its treatment of character, too exact and historical in its handling of facts, to appeal to the wood-pulp public. It deals with the first hundred years of life of the order of St. Francis of Assisi. The specific task of the book is the tracing of the conflict that arose between the followers of Lady Poverty and the ecclesiastical machine in whose shadow they sought refuge. It is a wonderful story, told with straightforward simplicity, with much factual detail, with reverence and with singular interest. And over it all, like a halo, there is the character of a little poor man whose life did not consist of the abundance of his possessions. What a voice for this age! And you will hunt a while to find that voice speaking with more conviction or clarity than from these pages.

UNFASHIONABLE CONVICTIONS, *by Bernard Iddings Bell. Harpers. 190 pp. Price* $2

THE warden of St. Stephen's College, Columbia University, writes a sequel to his Beyond Agnosticism, in the same tenor, contending that the way forward to religious progress is back to certain unfashionable convictions which many religionists think they have outgrown.

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JULIUS ROSENWALD—FELLOW CITIZEN

(*Continued from page* 469)

without compromising his own or others' faith, may best appear in the light of two incidents. The building of the Y. M. C. A. Branch near the Sears Roebuck plant, bearing its name, and the building of Negro branches in twenty-five cities at the offer of one quarter of their cost, certainly demonstrates that the spirit of this devout adherent of the Jewish faith could go as far beyond its confines as ever the Christian faith went beyond its own, in exemplifying the two great commandments of both faiths to love God and thy neighbor as thyself.

The other incident exemplifying the same transcending spirit occurred during a visit to Fisk University, en route to Tuskegee, when Dr. Emil G. Hirsch and I were fellow guests of Mr. Rosenwald. In introducing him to the coeducational student group, the prophet-like rabbi said that Julius Rosenwald was doing what he did as exemplifying only his Jewish faith. But this devoted member of Sinai Temple did not hesitate to say that: "He would go one point better than his great teacher, by affirming that any Jew who would not make a good Christian in spirit was not much of a Jew, and that any Christian who would not make a good Jew was not much of a Christian, and that either who would not make good in the other's place he did not think was good for anything!"

To whatever other source the distinctive spirit and service of Julius Rosenwald are to be credited, his birth in Springfield, Illinois, Abraham Lincoln's town, and his rearing by a mother who cherished the traditions of the great emancipator, are not to be forgotten, nor is a citizenship of forty-seven years in a city of great destiny lacking in inspiration to make the manhood of its manliest citizen.

"BUT YOU CAN'T LET PEOPLE STARVE"

(*Continued from page* 462)

called to renew the short-lived Pringle-Roberts Law which permits local unemployment emergency bonds.

Detroit exhibits not only the greater proportionate destitution of a one-industry town, but also the complications of leadership usually associated with triangles.

Most of the city's Chest subscribers of $3,000,000 have scant sympathy with Mayor Murphy's $17,000,000 relief budget of last year, though more for his present one of $7,000,000. This in spite of his claim that his seventeen millions of relief were accompanied by savings of an even greater amount in other city departments, and leaving aside the serious case of graft disclosed in last year's distribution of the huge sum which included half a million for homeless men alone.

"Okeh for the next six weeks" is the resultant explanation by Bill Norton, who enjoys the confidence of all concerned. "After that, uncertain."

In certain of the highly industrial settlements just outside the city limits, the situation is already serious—with the governor assisting, according to report, all possible extension of township or county credit. Because he has earlier expressed belief that Michigan can care for its own, the necessary state legislation for additional funds or credit is assumed fairly likely later.

Pittsburgh, finally, enjoys on the whole more effective leadership than might be expected from the newness of its Chest and such-like cooperative enterprises. Its emphasis upon work-relief enjoys the benefit of last year's practical experience. But the Emergency Unemployment Relief, with its total load of over sixteen thousand families and its more than six thousand men receiving rotating work-relief, has already had to use, before January, a half million of the nearly six million pledged —with difficulty—for 1932.

"More needed by April!" runs the general testimony.

Already, also, such a municipality as steel-making Clairton has seen its local funds exhausted and has been forced to ask immediate aid of the Allegheny County Emergency Fund. Although only 19 out of the locality's 122 boroughs have yet given thought to the possibility (*Continued on page* 503)

WATCHMAN . . .
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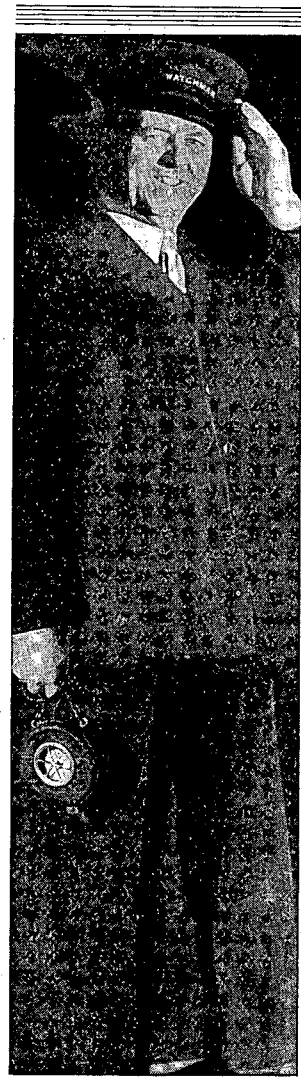
Watchman, as you make the methodical circuit of your floors, what are your thoughts? Are you tempted, by the all-pervading peace, to intone, as watchmen used to do, "All's well! All's well!"

Do you ever, as you pass the rows of numbered doors, philosophize like this: "There are women here who are timorous when alone at night in their own homes. There are those who thought they couldn't rest in a strange bed. Yet they all sleep like children in their cribs." Do you ever soliloquize like that? Probably not. You sum it up in a word to your wife in the morning, "It's a dull job I have. Nothing happens at all."



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THE COMMITTEE ON CULTURAL RELATIONS WITH LATIN AMERICA (112 E. 19 Street, New York) will hold its Second Seminar in the Caribbean from Jan. 23 through Feb. 10.

Summer Tours

THE POCONO STUDY TOURS (55 W. 42 Street, New York) announce some interesting tours, among them one on Youth and Youth Movements, Social and Cultural Developments Abroad, Music Festivals and Folk Music, Advanced Methods in Adult Education, Physical Education and Recreation Developments Abroad.

THE WORLD ACQUAINTANCE TRAVEL (11 W. 42 Street, New York) offers two groups of ten each, one for men and the other for women, an opportunity to gain some understanding of the real Japan. And Dr. and Mrs. John Ferguson will head a group to South America, including stops at Peru, Chile, Argentine and Brazil.

THE AMERICAN EXPRESS (65 Broadway, New York) is organizing a series of tours covering the study of educational systems of Germany, Austria and Holland, to be led by Thomas Alexander of Teachers College; of social welfare in middle Europe; of farming regions, under the leadership of Carl E. Ladd of Cornell; of the industrial and economic situation, with N. C. Miller of Rutgers.

THE OPEN ROAD (20 W. 43 Street, New York) announces the following special interest tours: a sociological and economic seminar under Jerome Davis of Yale, including a visit to the huge hydro-electric development at Dnieprostroi; a study of history, past and present, in the capitals of Europe, under Paul Schaeffer of the University of California; a historic textiles group with Grace G. Denny of the University of Washington; an international relations group, led by Arthur C. Watkins, director of the National Student Forum, on the Paris Pact; an education seminar, with visits to progressive schools of Germany, Switzerland, France, England, and attendance at the New Education Fellowship Conference in Nice.

Cheia

ON their visit to Rumania last summer, Mr. and Mrs. Robert C. Dexter came on the little village of Cheia, where Baptists, Presbyterians, Unitarians and some Roman Catholics are living under conditions as primitive as in Bible days, with even water for dishwashing having to be carried about a mile. The most heartening factor is that Mr. and Mrs. Balaz, a native Unitarian minister and his college-bred American wife, are serving community, school and church. Theirs is surely a labor of love, for the compensation is $6 a month and what they raise on their farm. It would fill a need and give encouragement to Mr. and Mrs. Balaz, to send them scrapbooks for the young, and magazines and books for grown-ups. Annie Florence Brown of Lend a Hand Society, 101 Tremont Street, Boston, will be glad to furnish details.

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(*Continued from page* 501) of extending governmental help, the district may be pardoned for hoping that the state's recent Talbot bill will be held constitutional and that its $12,000,000 unemployment relief can be looked to for the badly needed two millions additional as Allegheny County's proper share.

Incidentally, the Talbot bill's requirement that all monies are to be distributed through the officers of local political units runs bang into the fact that the directors of the poor of several western counties are already in jail! On the other hand, the state's direct handling of six "Pinchot Road Camps" is generally described like this: "In Washington County the tents are put up by the state's Department of Buildings and Grounds, and later inspected by the state's Department of Health. Applicants are sorted and registered by the Department of Labor and Industry and later put to work fixing roads by the Highway Department, protected, meanwhile, by the State Constabulary. All this running around by five departments so that road-work can be provided for *fifty men*!"

Meanwhile, Governor Pinchot and his legislature are trying to put each other on the spot at the April primaries.

There is widespread and growing difficulty over delinquent tax payments, which of course are the income side of local and state public relief; and realtors are stiffening against additional local tax burdens.

For all the localities visited the additional total now believed necessary for the new year's unemployment relief problem totals more than $20,000,000. Nevertheless, it must be reported that the possibility of asking federal aid on behalf of these areas has as yet not so much as occurred to the average local layman. Though considerably discussed by the social workers, these have almost universally considered such help as necessary in aid of only a few of the other, least socially developed states. Rightly or wrongly, well based or badly, I certainly found everywhere in my itinerary the belief that, so far as these districts are concerned, local citizen and city, township and borough, county and state, will somehow contrive to meet the situation as soon as its critical urgency becomes generally plain:

"You can't let people starve!"

III

All of which gives rise to certain conclusions:

I. That social workers could well study some method:

a. For acquainting the public with the newer, non-traditional, thrifty type of applicant for relief.

b. Also for developing such close-knit and far-seeing community organization that no single effort to secure funds, provide jobs, or collect clothing is allowed to give the impression that it alone is sufficient to relieve the entire situation. (This seems to figure largely in causing the present embarrassing "jam"—in which every earlier asker of gifts hates now to face the situation.)

c. Further, for utterly destroying the public's habit of postponing action until near-starvation develops before its eyes.

II. That reliance upon this Can't-let-people-starve mainspring is highly dangerous because it gives no guaranty whatever that in fact the resultant action will be sufficient unto the crisis when it arrives.

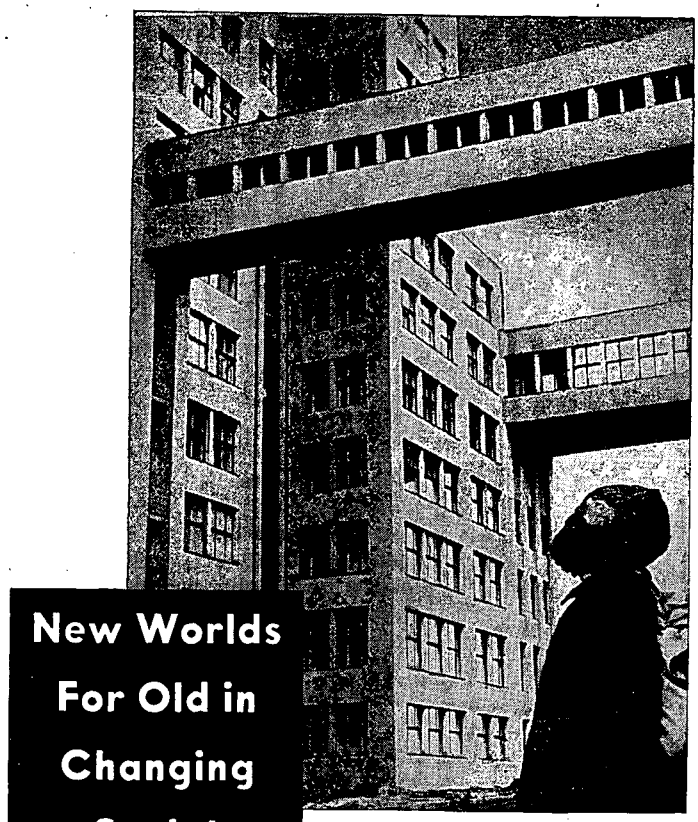
III. That this mainspring is even more dangerous because such crisis, once fully envisaged, is taken to justify any method whatsoever of meeting it—however hysterical and whatever may be its long-time results in lessening both the efficiency of relief distribution and the self-reliance of a huge proportion of our citizenry.

Just this appears now impending—largely because, according to the testimony of practically all social workers, the federal treasury is universally believed to be completely bottomless.

"The moment people believe," so runs every thoughtful front-line comment, "that they are receiving federal money, the efficiency of local distribution will be halved and the volume of articulate need and demand doubled—if not trebled."

IV. That such widespread, deep, and permanent misfortune to the body politic can be avoided, probably, only if federal aid is made available solely in the form of long-time, easy credit for needy states. (This would doubtless mean heavy pressure upon certain states and through them on certain cities either to improve their government or face letting people starve!)

V. That with public funds (*Continued on page* 506)



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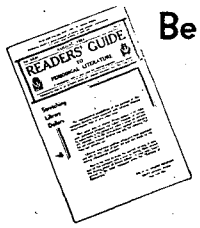

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(*Continued from page* 503) now so largely utilized all talk of "dole" is out of date. But that nevertheless, the discussion of federal aid may so lessen pressure for immediate county, city or state action as directly to bring on the dreaded local breakdown.

VI. That if the present highly unfortunate confusion of tongues makes neither federal nor state cash or credit available *in time,* then it will probably be found that neither private cash nor private neighborliness is as near exhaustion as is generally assumed.

VII. That accordingly thought can well be given at once to ways of organizing as in war time, the maximum emergency resources of the neighborliness of church, club, lodge, city block, or what-not, the relief of all these to be cleared through an emergency central information bureau.

VIII. That finally, in order to stem rather than merely to meet the rising tide of need, community leaders everywhere should be urged to consider such plans for maintaining normal purchasing and increasing regular jobs as Rochester recently made successful. Depression-consciousness and relief-mindedness are undoubtedly unavoidable. But so is *job*-mindedness—the effort of every man of good will and courage to help business and industry back to normal proportions. Neither of these minds is a substitute for the other. Both are necessary.

To be sure, we can't let people starve. But when it comes to answering men's call for help, it is worth recalling even today that all the bread in the world makes a poor substitute, thank God, for the *chance to earn it—on the job.*

GROWING UP BY PLAN

(*Continued from page* 485)

discover a panacea for the ills that have been hitting the world ever since history has been recorded.

Perhaps in the old days regional planning could not have been done. We did not have the facilities for fact-finding. We did not know enough about the elements of economics or about the changes in social progress to make any prognostication for the future or to lay down a plan that would be worth the paper it was written on for more than a few years to come. One result of the work of the planning bodies that have been organized all through the United States is that we are learning things about ourselves, many new discoveries, perfectly obvious now that they have been pointed out to us and others. I am wondering if out of this regional planning we are not going to be in a position to take the bull by the horns in the immediate future and adopt some kind of experimental work based on a distribution of population.

We know from the economic point of view that every skyscraper that goes up puts a dozen older buildings out of business. It is an addition to wealth on the one hand, a decrease of wealth on the other hand. We go gaily into projects for putting up new buildings without realizing that there is a limit beyond which we are cutting off more than we are adding on. And that is true not only in the city but in the suburbs and the country.

I am convinced that one of the greatest values of this total regional planning is the fact that it dares us to make experiments, for this country will remain progressive just so long as we are willing to make experiments, just so long as we are able to say: "Here is a suggestion that sounds good. We can't guarantee it, but let's try it out somewhere and see if it works."

Many years ago in Washington when James Bryce, the former British Ambassador to the United States, came back on a visit I happened to have the privilege of attending a dinner with him. After the dinner while the men were sitting down in the smoking-room we got to talking about the governments of the world, and we asked Lord Bryce what he thought of the permanence of governments. He said there would be many changes. This was before the World War broke out and disrupted most of the European governments, but he said: "I conceive it to be a wise guess that the American government will outlive all other existing governments of the world."

We said, "Why do you say that?"

He said: "For this reason: Modern civilization brings and will bring constantly new social and economic problems which

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will have to be met by solutions of a new character because the problems are new. In every other country in the world there is just one laboratory for experiment, a laboratory which must make these tests through the nation; make them on a nation-wide scale. You in America have a different system. You have one central laboratory, and you have forty-eight other laboratories. And those problems that demand new solutions can be tested out by you in these forty-eight laboratories. Some of the remedies will prove of no use, others will prove efficacious, and out of all these forty-eight tests you will gradually evolve a national remedy to meet new problems. Therein lies the advantage of America."

I believe work such as that of the Regional Plan Committee for parts of three sister states has opened our eyes to a new vista of the future. It has taken into account the social side, the economic side, the human side, as well as bricks and mortar. Whether the area and population of the region increase in the future or remain about as they are, the Regional Plan has laid the foundation for a better future; for homes, ports, playgrounds, highways, transportation; for the life and work of many millions of people. We have "growed like Topsy;" we must grow up by planning.

THE SIMPLE LIFE OF NEW YORK

(*Continued from page* 488)

from the constant anxiety of motor-infested suburban streets about their unfenced lawn. Even the confirmed suburbanites seem to breathe a little more deeply when they come back to the smoky city for their evening in town.

And as for the city-dwellers who talk constantly of that little white house in the country to which they will retire to tend the rosebushes and watch the lilacs bloom—enquire carefully, and you will usually find that there is a proviso of a few months in the city in the winter and of ample guest-rooms in the country: in other words, the intention of keeping a city taproot through which one will draw one's social atmosphere without the dust. Do they speak of retiring to the small towns and cities from which they came? Only very occasionally, when some native son has been so wounded or slighted in youth that he must go back in his heyday to show those people that he has got the better of it, after all. No, those who would flee from New York in general are not looking for another "community," they would take with them to pleasanter physical surroundings the social temper that they have found in the big city; and often, when the chance comes, they find that they would rather stay than risk losing that by going at all.

I am sure that there are in New York social games to be played by the ambitious in which the price of entrance is a set of rules as cruelly rigid as those of a New England village. But in a fairly free-roving life, I have only occasionally caught sight of such players, much less been forced to count myself among them or court their disfavor by refusing to join. Neither my social nor business rating depends on a weekly appearance at church nor a preoccupation with the newest thing in bedspreads, nor the number of cocktails that I can carry away gracefully from the country club. Nor do I, either for my own sake or for that of the children, have to keep thinking what the neighbors will say, like an acquaintance in a small town who darkened the front windows one Saturday night so that the people next door would not realize that she and her husband had not been invited to the Smith's party. More important than this, on the positive side, I can do what I can toward working out the sort of life which seems to fit my abilities and tastes and needs without shading the pattern to meet the ideas of a different sort of person or setting myself against an opposing view; and in doing this, I can count on finding friends who see things pretty much as I do.

This chance to choose, as I have intimated, is not without its price. It costs in money and noise and dirt. But even so, as the train crosses Harlem River and I look out at the dingy flats, see the smoke lying over the city, and hear the obstreperous racket of trucks and tugboats, I lean back in the seat with a sigh of contentment: once more, the simple life of New York.

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INGOTS AND DOLES

(*Continued from page* 458)

from a church guild. Mother and a new baby at the Braddock General Hospital. Father getting a loan—and a welcome one—from the company.

Who said *"the dole"?* The thing is *"doles."*

But suppose! Suppose that a money alternative for all of these doles were paid in a lump sum once a month by a collaboration of industry and of government to each unemployed or partially employed man! And suppose that this money alternative were equal to the charitarian "minimum" of "relief"! And suppose that everybody then said to the man: "Now you and your family will spend your own money and purchase your own subsistence! No more packages of groceries! No more delivered rations! No more slating of steel works superintendents by eminent and learned visiting nurses for not putting vitamins in your diet!"

Ah! Can't you hear the chant of patterned patter? How the man's manhood would be undermined! Think of him buying his own "relief" out of his own unemployment stipend! He couldn't stand it. He's an American. He's accustomed to the American way. He'd go to pieces. He'd never work again.

Just what they used to say about the consequences, for Americans, of industrial-accident stipends! Now they don't say it any more. Now we have industrial accident stipends, and they have stopped saying it. Nothing revises expectation except experiment.

I talked with Superintendent Hartsuff of the Edgar Thomson works about accidents. I felt very admiring of him and very sorry for him.

Why should a manly maker of steel be expected also to be a domestic examiner of people's homes and of their pantry shelves and of their unemployment hunger needs? And how could Mr. Hartsuff ever effectively convey to the Corporation's Finance Committee in New York the stories of individual families and of individual needs of dried beans or fresh tomatoes?

I wondered if the Finance Committee would not ultimately like it better and if Mr. Hartsuff would not ultimately like it better if the Corporation would pay cash to the unemployed, just as it pays cash to the disabled and just as it pays cash to the superannuated, and just as it pays cash (fat years and lean years) to the stockholders and to the bondholders—and then let Mr. Hartsuff just make steel.

He glowingly showed me the Edgar Thomson accident records. Some of them displayed the counts of "lost-time" cases. In the seven years from 1914 to 1920 the average annual number of "lost-time" cases was 578. In the subsequent ten years from 1921 to 1930 the average annual number of "lost-time" cases was 52. In 1930 it was 38.

No wonder the Corporation was proud! No wonder Mr. Hartsuff was proud! It takes a good man to achieve such a result—a good man inspired both by his own goodness and by the new cash costs of accidents.

I was wondering what might be achieved by a good man and by new cash costs of unemployment when Mr. Hartsuff pointed, rather shyly, to a big pile of sheet bars. They were strips of steel, flat, thinnish, long, thousands of them, heaped.

"There will be twenty thousand tons of them," said Mr. Hartsuff.

"Whose order?" I wanted to know.

"No order," said Mr. Hartsuff. "Christmas. A little work, a little pay, for Christmas."

Well, I don't mind being sentimental. Twenty thousand tons of sheet bars, with no buyer in sight, and just for Christmas, was a nice thought.

Then I had a more rationalistic thought. Could there be piles of sheet bars, piles of ingots, all ready for the next prosperity period? Could there be not merely "relief" groceries or "relief" wages but "relief" production? Could there be some, any, continuity of production in the midst of so much discontinuity of demand?

I thought: "I must try to find out."

(Next article: *Ingots and Jobs,* in Survey Graphic for March.)

FRANCIS CROWLEY VS. THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK

(*Continued from page* 478)

of the State of New York against Francis Crowley took only five days and on May 29 a carefully chosen jury found him guilty. On June 1 he was sentenced to be executed. An appeal was taken but denied by the Court of Appeals on November 17. A second appeal, one for clemency, to Governor Roosevelt was pending when this issue went to press. The strong probability is that he will have been electrocuted by the time this article is read.

The People of the State of New York had vindicated their law and given evidence of their power and authority.

The case of Francis Crowley against the People of the State of New York has not yet been decided.

Let me recapitulate. An unwanted infant, born out of wedlock, placed on a baby farm, transferred to an orphan asylum and then back to this foster home, unable to benefit by common-school education, playing truant repeatedly, transferred to a special school, breaking windows, arriving at the Juvenile Court, discovered to be a border-line defective incapable of much reading or writing, placed on probation—left school at seventeen years of age. Awakening to girls, he stole autos for their pleasure and was four times arrested for it but released; served one term in 1929 and in 1930 was placed on probation. Caught up in a shooting and fearing the police, he bought two each of several kinds of weapons and began a career of adventure and crime, ending with stick-ups, shooting a detective, killing a policeman.

He was born out of law and he died an outlaw. He resisted and rejected authority; throughout his life he was against society. But was society working in his interests? Let us see.

He was sane, but was society?

He was mentally deficient, but was society less so?

He was delinquent, but was not society delinquent?

He was criminal, but are the People of the State of New York free from guilt and participation?

Law has triumphed, but has justice?

Was society's attitude responsible (*Continued on page* 511)

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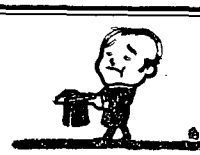

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(*Continued from page* 509) for this child's lack of a home as an infant? Was the pressure against the child born out of wedlock responsible for his lack of a mother's care and protection? Would perhaps a broader spirit towards irregular marriages have provided him some benefit of paternal guidance?

He had a home, to be sure, with kindness and religious education. But it is apparent that within that home elements were working against him in pattern and performance, as noted in the shooting affair of his foster brother and the police.

Society is responsible for the continued existence of orphan asylums, and this boy in his early years was exposed to the restrictive influences of two institutions in which he manifested mischievousness and a rebellious spirit. In this early formative period, to what extent was society responsible for reactions against persons and events that tended to limit the growth of his personality in terms of his limited intelligence? To what extent did this early experience lead to anti-social attitudes? Why should not society have known his mental state shortly after he entered school? Why should it have taken eight years and an experience in a Juvenile Court to ascertain that he was intellectually sub-standard? Is not the inability to learn to read and write significant? What responsibility had the school for attempting to convert this boy, naturally left-handed, to right-handedness? How far did the school, an institution of society, fail in its work in solving the problems of truancy? Why was he not sent to a truant school or place for temporary reform other than his short stay at St. Michael's? What effort did the school make to bring about an adaptation in school life? What explanation is there for placing this subnormal boy with special deficiencies in reading and writing in a printing class? What consistent effort for character-training and personalty-development is noted during his school career? His education for character, citizenship, vocational development and economic security does no credit to the State of New York.

AND next in the Juvenile Court. He has been a truant; he has broken school windows; he has opposed authority; he is found to have an I. Q. of seventy-six, a mental age of ten and eight-twelfths years; he is placed upon probation and nothing is done when that probation is violated. He escapes the potentially reconstructive influences of the Juvenile Court. How much might have been gained through a Berkshire Industrial Home, a Children's Village or some similar organization which gives intelligent consideration to juvenile problems?

Further, this boy of seventeen goes to Philadelphia and purchases unlawful weapons. How far has society safeguarded the sale of weapons designed to be turned against itself? How far is society responsible for letting it be possible for this subnormal youth to purchase, transport across the borders of three states, carry and use the means for holding up stores and shooting policemen? Is not the state responsible for his actual possession of the weapon with which he killed an officer of the law? Is it not time for society to devise some intelligent regulation of weapons of an anti-social nature?

Then he is arrested for stealing, and special pleading secures his release. He is arrested again, found guilty and once more released because of the pleadings of a priest. Arrested a third time, he serves a short sentence. Arrested a fourth time, he is placed on probation, which he violates. Yet his record in school, in the Juvenile Court, and as to his previous arrests was available; still he is permitted to go on his irresponsible way. Was society not responsible here?

Following this came more active participation in crimes as a hold-up man and a suspected gangster, ending in the wounding of one man and the killing of another. Up to the moment of the siege by the police he had outwitted all the constructive forces of society.

Francis Crowley had potentials that were not essentially anti-social. He exhibited a certain degree of gratitude to his foster mother and paid board to her regularly when he earned it; he exhibited tender feelings toward a sixteen-year-old girl; he had worked at his trade for almost three years without conflict with his union, his employer or his fellow-workers. For all his limited mentality he was making an economic and social adjustment to his family, his work and his girl friends. In the light of these exhibited possibilities, I ask to what extent was society responsible for the volcanic development of this dynamic, vain, subnormal but nonetheless mentally acute individual, who had the capacity to use his eyes and hands in work better than in reading and writing? It is true he shot and killed Patrolman Hirsch. But would he have met Patrolman Hirsch and would there have been a shooting if society had taken advantage of its repeated opportunities to protect the boy and itself?

I charge that society failed to make a rational effort to develop this one of its wards, to build upon what strength he possessed and to cultivate the virtues that were latent—an indictment of social inactivity, indifference or ignorance.

Francis Crowley was born an unwanted child. His life ended as an unwanted man. Can anyone bring an indictment in the action of Francis Crowley vs. The People of the State of New York?

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THE ORIGINS OF ECONOMIC PLANNING

(*Continued from page* 475)

ments had an immediate effect on thinking and policy in several ways. Some of them gave impetus to that phase of economic coordination which may be called industrial planning. The growth of mergers and industrial combinations made it necessary for these enterprises to think more systematically ahead and to plan their productive and distributive activities. Thus, during these years, there emerged a wider process of budgeting in single enterprises, exemplified in the activities of such concerns as the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, United States Steel, General Motors and others.

On the other hand the leading elements in industries like oil, textiles and coal, which suffered from excess capacity and extreme competition and which were unable to maintain a remunerative price level, began to struggle with the problem of adjusting productive capacity to market demand, originating various schemes for internal control. And the idea that continued prosperity must be maintained on a basis of mass production and mass purchasing power stimulated a general search for methods of stabilizing employment and wages which would enable the masses to earn an increasing share of their own output.

These impulses were already rising in capitalistic countries when a new factor entered upon the scene from Soviet Russia, with the adoption of the Five-Year Plan in the fall of 1928. During 1928-29 came the first intimations of interest in the western world in the work and methods of the Gosplan in Moscow. Though the practical possibilities of the Five-Year Plan remained to be demonstrated, the plan itself gave a new focus to the converging trends of thought, unifying them in the idea of economic planning and of special institutions for planning.

The industrial depression following the stock-market crash of November 1929 brought the inconsistencies of post-War development into full view and made the quest for a method of balanced economic growth the main preoccupation of the entire world.

WE are in the midst of this situation today. The enthusiastic faith in unregulated capitalism and laissez-faire is shaken. Everywhere there is groping for new economic concepts and new economic methods. All the older schools of economics are in a state of disintegration and a general effort is being made to analyze anew the function of economic guidance and to build up new concepts which may serve as a basis of action. While no definite coordinated system of ideas has been evolved, the general trend is in the direction of a new way of economic thought which emphasizes two points: First, the possibility of a proper understanding of the process of economic change; second, the need for consciously planning and guiding economic activities in the interests of the entire community and in the paths of peaceful and orderly progress.

As this trend proceeds a synthesis of the various elements which have made for planning is coming to the fore. While the planning idea is getting its greatest impetus today from the example of Soviet Russia where the attempt to carry out the Five-Year Plan has aroused tremendous interest in its processes and methods, it is being more and more related to industrial developments in all countries and to its various roots everywhere. In particular in the United States planning is seen to be the logical culmination of the two basic movements which already before 1914 began to cut the foundations from under laissez-faire, namely scientific management and public regulation. The former slowly evolved the techniques which may now be utilized for the coordination of inter-plant and inter-industry relations. From the latter comes the economic doctrine that industry is invested with a public interest—a concept which is so shaping our attitudes that we may make proper use of these techniques. Together the two movements are bridging the gap between technical planning for single plants and industries to economic planning which contemplates the coordination of all industrial and economic activities in order to balance a progressively developing technology with a progressively rising standard of living.

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